TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME XVI.

EDITOR.

THE WORSHIPFUL CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, M.A., F.S.A., LL.M.,

PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY.

1900.

PRINTED BY T. WILSON, HIGHGATE, KENDAL.

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MEETINGS HELD BY THE SOCIETY,

1899.

FOR READING PAPERS AND MAKING EXCURSIONS.

1.—KESWICK: Druid's Circle, Crosthwaite Church, and Local Museum - - June 29, 1899

Orthwaite Hall, Whitefield Cottage, Snittlegarth, Caermot, Peel Wyke, Castle How - - - - - June 30, 1899

2.—Burrow Walls, St. Michael's Mount, St. Michael's Church, Workington Hall, Cockermouth - - - - Aug. 24, 1899

Bridekirk, Isell Hall and Church, Hewthwaite Hall, Cockermouth Castle, Wood Hall Aug. 25, 1899

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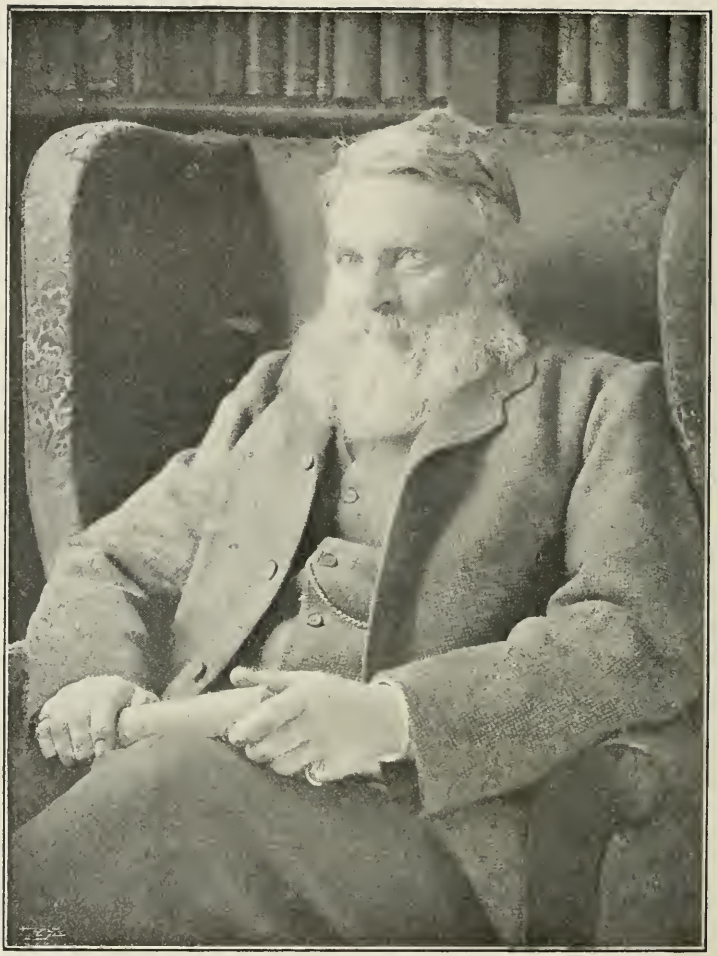

R. S. FERGUSON, Esq., M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.,

Chancellor of Carlisle.

President of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, and Editor of its Transactions.

Scott, Photo. Carlisle.

In Memoriam

RICHARD S. FERGUSON, M.A., LL.M, F.S.A.,
CHANCELLOR OF CARLISLE ;
PRESIDENT AND EDITOR OF OUR SOCIETY.

THOUGH the death of Chancellor Ferguson has been felt so severely by his family and friends, by his city and county, and by many public bodies and institutions with which he was connected, the loss in no case can have been greater, nor can the regret be more lasting and sincere, than among ourselves. Without disrespect to the memory of the learned and able men who have gone before him, and without cheapening the services of many efficient and energetic members who remain to carry on the work so splendidly begun, it is not too much to say that no one, for all we can see, will ever do so much for us again.

He was not only President at our meetings and Editor of our *Transactions;* he was the heart and soul of the Society ; by his energy keeping it in life and health, and by his influence and forethought fostering its prosperity, overcoming its difficulties, and controlling its activity to the success of which we have such great reason to be proud.

This is hardly the place for a full memoir of so varied and fruitful a life, but we must at least recall the main facts of his career, and especially the results of his interest in antiquarian study and in the body to which we belong.

Richard S. Ferguson was born on July 28, 1837, the elder son of Mr. Joseph Ferguson of Lowther Street, Carlisle. He had the good fortune to come of a clever family, who, in earlier generations, had built up a flourishing business in that city, and, in his time, distinguished themselves in art and literature. His brother, our vice-president, is eminent as an architect and authority on ancient churches, and his cousin, Mr. Robert Ferguson, M.P., F.S.A., was well known as a graceful writer and author of valuable studies in history.

He was sent at first to Carlisle Grammar School, but soon went to Shrewsbury, then under the famous Dr. Kennedy, who made him a good classical scholar and first-rate writer of Latin prose. But on going up to Cambridge with a scholarship at St. John's, he was advised to read mathematics; and graduated in 1860 as 27th wrangler.

He had already entered at Lincoln's Inn, and was called to the bar in 1862, though his own desire was to be a soldier. Readers of his papers will find in this early and never forgotten inclination a reason for the zest with which he always approached military antiquities; and his friends know how keen was his satisfaction that his only son should have taken up the profession which he had put aside in deference to his father's wishes. He found some consolation in joining the "Devil's Own," and being then strong and active,—walking tours were his favourite form of sport—he became an efficient and zealous volunteer during his ten years of London life.

He practised as an equity draughtsman and conveyancer, went on the Northern Circuit, and in 1868-9 was examiner in Civil Law for the University to which he belonged. But he was already interested

in antiquities, and always a lover of his native district, so that in 1866 he made one of the small party which met at Penrith and founded the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society.

Though at the time engaged in other work and living in London, he began to study local history in earnest; and while collecting materials was attracted, curiously enough for a would-be soldier and no Quaker, by the stories of early members of the Society of Friends. He wrote a number of short biographies for the *Carlisle Journal*, which he collected and published with much added matter as his first volume:—

(1871) "Early Cumberland and Westmorland Friends: a series of biographical sketches of early members of the Society of Friends in those counties"; by Richard S. Ferguson, M.A., Barrister-at-Law. (London: F. Bowyer Kitto, 5, Bishopsgate Without; Carlisle: Chas. Thurnam and Sons, 1871). Dedicated to Joseph Pease, Esq., late M.P. for South Durham; pp. vii and 208.

This was soon followed by

(1871) "Cumberland and Westmorland M.P.'s from the Restoration to the Reform Bill of 1867." (Carlisle: C. Thurnam & Sons, 1871; pp. xx. and 478.)

After this he spent the best part of two years abroad, visiting Egypt, Australia, and America. The account of his travels was given in

(1873) "Moss Gathered by a Rolling Stone."

In 1874 he settled down at 74, Lowther Street, Carlisle, and thenceforward interested himself almost exclusively in local affairs. He was a keen politician,

and took a considerable part in electioneering on the Conservative side. Already Justice of the Peace for the county since 1872, he was put on the city bench in 1881, and in 1886 became chairman of Quarter Sessions for Cumberland. He was elected to the Carlisle Town Council in 1878, mayor in 1881, and again in 1882, and in 1896 the Corporation conferred on him the freedom of the city. He took great interest in charitable institutions; was a governor of the Grammar School, a member of the School Board, of the Cumberland Infirmary Committee, and other important councils, and took the lead in many philanthropic movements. He was a staunch churchman, and in 1887 was appointed Chancellor of the Diocese.

But great as were the services he rendered in so many a public office, he was more widely known, and will be more lastingly remembered, as the historian and antiquary.

He had been Editor of our *Transactions* from the first, and did not become our President until the death of Canon Simpson in 1886. How important was his share in the work of the Society is seen from the fact that until he settled in Carlisle and began to devote himself to antiquarianism on the spot, there was comparatively little done. It was not for want of able students; he has often spoken of his great obligations to the little band of founders, who, as he said, taught him the business. But more than any one man of them he united in his own person the cultivated mind of a scholar, the trained intellect of a lawyer, much experience of the world, great powers of organization, untiring energy, enthusiastic affection for Cumberland and inherited acquaintance with Cumbrians, and, it may be added, the means and

leisure to give scope to his powers and to carry out his pursuits.

He once said that he was glad to accept office on the Town Council chiefly because it gave him access to the Records. That was a characteristic pleasantry, for he always pretended to be selfish ; but it had this truth in it, that he looked at affairs from the standpoint of "a scholar and a gentleman," as the old phrase went. He was always anxious to preserve continuity of development ; tenacious of antique rights, fond of old-fashioned, picturesque ceremonials, seeing the past in the present ; and yet with sound common sense for immediate needs and sympathy for necessary reforms. Love of change for the sake of change found no support in him ; he could not endure the notion of modernizing his pet city on the model of a manufacturing town. On this subject, as on others, he was a man of strong feelings though few words ; and yet he had an almost exaggerated respect for eloquence, over and above the scholar's and lawyer's admiration for neat and crisp literary form. He was most practical of men, but understood better than most who call themselves practical the place of art and literature in civilized life ; in a word, an all-round man such as we seldom meet. He was, in his later years, seriously invalided through asthma, and it is an open secret that he had cause for great unhappiness in his private life ; yet he carried a very warm heart through it all, and was the best of friends, the best of leaders in a Society such as this. In his favourite studies he had the rare gift of setting people to work, stimulating their interest, supplying them with information, and helping them forward step by step in an antiquarian career. He was no Dry-as-dust, nor a dog-in-the-

manger scholar, nor an exploiter of labour; but a born teacher who made antiquarian study popular without vulgarizing it, and brought it home to plain folks and into touch with modern life as only a master-mind could do.

One great result of his many-sided interests and influence was the establishment of Tullie House,—museum, library, and school of art and science. In this he was helped by many, but the scheme which made it possible and the plans which made it successful were his, down to the smallest details of arrangement and labelling of the exhibits. In the antiquarian collections and in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana, as completed by his care, our Society has long had practically, and now has officially, what it otherwise would lack in the way of a centre and, as it were, head-quarters, in which many results of its work are preserved in a tangible form and permanent safe keeping.

Apart from this local institution and all our explorations, excursions, and publications, which were his especial care and responsibility, his own researches and writings gave him a wide reputation as an antiquary. He became Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London on March 1, 1877, and was also local secretary for Cumberland. He was made Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland also, and of the Glasgow Archæological Society in 1895. There can be no doubt that his contributions have been of great and lasting value; not that everything he wrote was final, for that is impossible, but that it was always the result of first-hand investigation, to which he brought a sound comparative method and general knowledge, stating his conclusions in clear and unaffected terms. There were some

lines he left, by a sort of tacit convention, to others; but he had a surprising fund of information on every subject. Of his range and versatility, a list of his papers in these *Transactions* will best give some idea, and the dates of publication prefixed will show how steadily he kept to his self-appointed task.

(1868) Lanercost Priory (with Mr. C. J. Ferguson).
(1873) The Heraldry of Cumberland and Westmorland.
(1875) Notes on the Heraldic Visitations of Cumberland and Westmorland.
—— Carlisle Castle.
(1876) The East Window, Carlisle Cathedral: its stained glass.
—— The Parish Registers of St. Mary's and St. Cuthbert's Churches, Carlisle.
—— On the Remains of Ancient Glass and Woodwork at St. Anthony's Chapel, Cartmel Fell (with the Rev. T. Lees).
(1877) On Certain Plumbago Moulds found in Nether Wasdale, Cumberland.
—— An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland; with remarks on Agricola's line of march, and on the importance of the camp at Old Carlisle, and on the 10th Iter of Antoninus.
(1878) On the Remains of a Stockade recently found in Carlisle.
—— Two Border Fortresses: Tryermain and Askerton Castles.
—— An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland (*continued*).
(1879) Wills relating to the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle.
—— An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland (Part III).
—— On the Remains of a Mediæval Stockade recently found at Carlisle.
—— Windermere (Bowness) Parish Church and its old glass.
—— On the Remains of a Roman Stockade recently found at Carlisle (*continued*).
—— Memoir of Prof. Harkness, F.R.S., member of Council.
—— A Remarkable Sepulchral Slab at Carlatton, Cumberland.

(1880) An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland (*continued*); the Camps at Mowbray and Whitbarrow; also some recent Roman finds.
—— The Barony of Gilsland and its owners to the end of the 16th century.
—— The Heraldry of Naworth and Lanercost.
—— Notes taken at Naworth.
(1881) Notes on Excavations at Leacet Hill Stone Circle, Westmorland.
—— An Attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland (*continued*): Risehow, near Flimby; the Parish of Bowness on Solway; also some recent Roman finds.
—— Appendix to a paper on Masons' Marks from the Abbey, Carlisle.
(1882) The Armorial Bearings of the City of Carlisle.
—— The Hugill Settlement (abstract of speech).
—— Knitting Sheaths or Knitting Sticks.
—— The Friar-Preachers or Blackfriars of Carlisle.
—— Stone Circle at Gamelands.
—— Earth-works in Cumberland.
—— On a Torque of Late Celtic type found in Carlisle.
(1883) An Account of the "Dormont Book" belonging to the Corporation of Carlisle.
—— Notes on the Initial letter of a Charter of Edward II. to the City of Carlisle.
—— Masons' Marks from Furness and Calder Abbey.
(1884) On a Supposed Touch or Assay of Silver at Carlisle.
—— A Labyrinth on Rockcliffe Marsh.
—— Recent Roman Finds at Carlisle.
—— The Secular Bells of Carlisle.
—— Bellbridge and Captain Thomas Morris.
—— The Relph and Denton Monuments in Sebergham Church.
—— The Bishop's Dyke, Dalston; Barras Gate, Dalston; The Bishop's Dyke, Crosby.
—— An Attempt to Trace the Missing Episcopal Registers of the See of Carlisle.
—— The Lectureship and Lecturers at St. Cuthbert's Church, Carlisle.
(1885) Why Alston is in the Diocese of Durham and in the County of Cumberland.

(1885) The Seal used by the Archdeacon of Carlisle, with Notes on the Seal of Chancellor Lowther.

—— The Tombs of Margaret, Countess Dowager of Cumberland, and Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery, in Appleby Church.

(1886) The Copes belonging to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle.

—— The Carlisle Bushel.

—— The Registers and Account Books of the Parish of Kirkandrews-upon-Esk.

—— Notes on a Roman Altar and a Roman Sepulchral Slab found at Carlisle; with some Notes on the "Roman Bagpiper," and on a figure found at Bewcastle in 1765 and now at Netherby.

—— The Beaumont Hoard, with some remarks on a pre-Roman road near Carlisle (a paper written in conjunction with Mr. C. F. Keary, F.S.A., and also printed in the *Numismatic Chronicle*).

—— The Earthworks and Keep, Appleby Castle.

—— The Episcopal Residences of the Bishops of Carlisle: No. 1, Buley or Bewley Castle.

—— Memoir of the Rev. J. Simpson, LL.D., F.S.A., President.

(1887) The so-called "Tumuli" near Dalston Hall, Cumberland.

—— On some Obscure Inscriptions in Cumberland.

—— Kendal Castle.

—— Additional Remarks on a Ring recently found at Lanercost.

—— Recent Roman Discoveries.

(1888) Ἀλεκτρυόνων Ἀγὼν.

—— Two Moated Mounds, Liddell and Aldingham.

—— Pigeon Houses in Cumberland.

(1889) The Retreat of the Highlanders through Westmorland in 1745 (partly given as a lecture at Penrith in 1887; and printed in *The Reliquary*).

—— Report on Ancient Monuments in Cumberland and Westmorland (printed also in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries).

—— Recent Roman Discoveries.

(1890) Recent Roman Discoveries, 1889.

—— Potters' Marks on Roman Pottery found in Carlisle.

(1890) The Siege of Carlisle in 1644-5; General Leslie's Works (originally given as a lecture at Carlisle).

—— The Seal of the Statute Merchant of Carlisle.

(1891) The Roman Camp on Kreiginthorpe (Crackenthorpe) Common, near Kirkbythore.

—— The Bears at Dacre.

—— Memoir of Mr. W. Jackson, F.S.A., Vice-President.

(1892) Report on injury to the Bewcastle Obelisk (communicated also to the Society of Antiquaries).

—— Recent Local Finds, Prehistoric, Roman, Mediæval.

—— The Heraldry of the Cumberland Statesmen (read also to the Royal Archæological Institute and printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. 78).

—— Memoir of Bishop Goodwin, Patron of the Society.

(1893) A "Tau Ring" found at Keswick.

—— Incense Cup found at Old Parks, Kirkoswald.

—— On a Massive Timber Platform of early date uncovered at Carlisle; and on sundry relics found in connection therewith (read also to the Society of Antiquaries, and given at the laying of the foundation stone of new buildings at Tullie House).

—— On the Roman Cemeteries of Luguvallium, and on a Sepulchral Slab of Roman date found recently.

—— The Roman Fort on Hardknott.

(1894) Memoir of the Rev. T. Lees, F.S.A., Vice-President.

—— On a Bronze Vessel of Roman date found at Clifton, near Penrith.

—— A Survey of the City of Carlisle in 1684-5 from the collection of Lord Dartmouth.

—— The Denton Manuscripts.

(1895) A Grave-Cover of Tiles at Carlisle.

—— On a Tumulus at Old Parks, Kirkoswald, with some remarks on one at Aspatria, and also on Cup, Ring, and other Rock Markings in Cumberland and Westmorland.

—— On a Milestone of Carausius, and other recent Roman finds (with Mr. F. Haverfield).

—— Introduction to a paper by Mr. Henry Wagner on a Pedigree of the Descendants of John Waugh, D.D., Bishop of Carlisle.

(1896) On the Collection of Chap-Books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana in Tullie House, Carlisle; with some remarks on the History of Printing in Carlisle, Whitehaven, Penrith, and other north-country towns.
—— Sites of Local Beacons.
—— Memoir of the Rev. H. Whitehead, member of Council.
(1897) An Ancient Village in Hugill.
(1898) Shap Stones.
—— Recent Local Finds of Roman Date.
—— Ancient and County Bridges in Cumberland and Westmorland, with some remarks upon the Fords.
—— The Treasure Chest formerly belonging to the Custom House, Carlisle.
—— Collection of Spellings of "Rockcliffe."
—— Communion Cup and Cover from Cartmel Fell Chapel.
(1899) Report on the Excavations at Furness Abbey.
—— Various Finds in Ormside Churchyard.
—— Memoir of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, F.S.A., member of Council.
—— The Colliery, Harbour, Lime, and Iron Tokens of West Cumberland.
(1900) On some Additions to the Collection of Chap-Books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana in Tullie House.

There are more than a hundred papers, many of them of considerable length, and all implying original research in very various lines of study. But these were by no means all he did for us.

In the Extra Series of the Society he edited six volumes :—

(1877) I.—Bishop Nicolson's Visitation and Survey of the Diocese of Carlisle in 1703-4.
(1882) III.—The Old Church Plate in the Diocese of Carlisle.
(1887) IV.—Some Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle.
(1892) VII.—The Boke off Recorde of the Burgh of Kirkbie Kendall.
(1893) IX.—Testamenta Karleolensia.
(1894) X.—The Royal Charters of Carlisle.

In the Tract Series he edited :—

(1887) No. 2.—John Denton's Accompt of Cumberland.
(1889) No. 3.—Sir Daniel Fleming's Description of Cumberland.
(1890) No. 4.—Edmund Sandford's Cursory Relation.
(1891) No. 5.—Hugh Todd's Account of the City and Diocese of Carlisle.
(1892) No. 6.—Hugh Todd's Notitia Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Carliolensis et Notitia Prioratus de Wederhal.

For the Society of Antiquaries Chancellor Ferguson compiled "An Archæological Survey of Cumberland and Westmorland," published in *Archæologia*, vol. LIII. (1893).

To the series of Diocesan Histories he contributed the volume on "Carlisle" (dedicated to Bishop Goodwin; pp. 245 with map. S.P.C.K. 1889).

For Elliot Stock's series of popular County Histories he wrote two volumes:—

(1890) A History of Cumberland. (pp. 312.)
(1894) A History of Westmorland. (pp. 312.)

He also took an active share in the Cumberland and Westmorland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science, from its formation in 1875 to its extinction in 1893, and contributed several papers to its *Transactions*:—

(1876) On some Plumbago Coining Moulds found at Nether Wasdale (abstract: paper printed in our *Transactions*.
(1879) The Formation of Cumberland (a popular resumé).
(1885) The Formation of the English Palate (on the archæology of cookery, read as presidential address at Penrith Annual Meeting, June, 1884).
(1886) Potsherds and Pipkins (a sketch of the rise and progress of the potter's art; presidential address at the Bowness Annual Meeting, June, 1885).

On the occasion of the visit of the Royal Archæological Institute to Carlisle in 1882, being then mayor, he wrote a "Handbook to places of interest

in and around Carlisle"; which, rewritten and brought up to date for the meeting of the British Medical Association, was re-published by Thurnam and Sons as "Official Guide to Carlisle and the neighbourhood."

Beside these works he contributed many papers and reports to the Society of Antiquaries; letters to newspapers on antiquarian subjects; and lectures, of which one at Manchester on Corporation Regalia was particularly interesting, and brought about the results aimed at in the proper use and form of city maces and the like. He sometimes reviewed books; and his correspondence was naturally extensive. At the time of his death he was engaged upon a greater work than ever, as part writer and general editor of the Victoria History of Cumberland, in four large volumes, summing up our whole present knowledge of the county. In this his encyclopædic knowledge would have found full scope; and if it were only on this account, his death, at the comparatively early age of 62, is a severe blow to historical science and to Cumberland.

His health had long given anxiety, and in the Spring of 1898 a serious illness made it seem, for a time, as though we might lose the full advantage of his presence among us. But the recovery seemed to be complete, except for old-standing liability to asthma; and he worked and travelled as before, finding new pleasure in life as a grandfather to the little son of his daughter, who, in 1896, had been married to the Rev. F. L. H. Millard; and in the home-coming of his son, Captain in the First Northumberland Fusiliers, who had been through the Omdurman Campaign.

But this last winter has been a black one to many

of us. For him it was a time of great anxiety, for his son was in South Africa with Lord Methuen. After the news of narrow escapes at Belmont and Graspan every paper and telegram that came was an alarm. There can be no doubt but that the strain was too heavy for him; and when, towards the end of February last, he was laid aside with an attack of his complaint more than usually severe, it soon became evident that his heart was affected. He passed away on Saturday afternoon, March 3, 1900; conscious to the last, and facing the reality of the change in peace and confidence.

He has left us many legacies in the works he has written and in the House Beautiful he helped to to build, in many labours of love, and in aid ungrudgingly given. But chief of all he has left us our Society. His death closes one period, a most flourishing period, of its existence. It is fitting that these volumes of *Transactions* which he edited should stand by themselves as a complete series, dedicated to his memory, and rounded off with the index which, after much difficulty, he at last arranged to provide.

These sixteen volumes will then be Chancellor Ferguson's work; next year we must turn a new page and begin again, without his presence and help, but not without grateful heed to his teaching and a guiding remembrance of his example.

We have also to record with great regret the death of a Vice-President and several distinguished members during the past year.

Henry Fraser Curwen, Esq., J.P., D.L., of Workington Hall and the Island, Windermere, representing an ancient and famous Cumberland family, was elected a Vice-President in 1878 and held that position for nearly twenty-two years.

The Rev. E. H. Knowles, M.A., of St. Bees, Hon. Canon of Carlisle, and subsequently Canon of Rochester, was elected a member in 1872, and for about ten years remained one of our most active supporters. Though not a very familiar figure at meetings he did much good work for the Society in a series of papers, some of which were excellently illustrated with his own pencil, dealing, among other subjects, with the pre-Norman Crosses of West Cumberland, which he was the first to elucidate. His contributions were :

(1873) Millom Castle.
—— The Charters of the Borough of Egremont.
—— St. Mary's Church, Egremont.
(1875) Fragments at St. Bees.
(1877) Walls Castle, Ravenglass (with Mr. Jackson.)
—— A Miscellany of Notes on Fragments in and near St. Bees.
(1878) The Earlier Registers of Waberthwaite and Millom.
—— Notes on Fragments at St. John's, Beckermet; Whitbeck; Corney.
(1882) Egremont Castle (with Mr. Jackson).

His resignation on leaving St. Bees was a distinct loss to our Society.

The Rev. Dr. Troutbeck, well known by his connection with music and with Westminster Abbey, was connected also with our district and continued

to take an interest in it. He was elected in 1877, and though not a contributor, was a frequent visitor, generally attending our second meeting in the later part of the year.

The Rev. S. W. Watson, S.C.L., Rector of Bootle, was elected in 1875. He was the author of a paper on the Deanery of Gosforth.

The Rev. Thomas Machell Remington of Aynsome, Cartmel, M.A., Trin. Coll., Cambridge, and formerly Rector of Claughton near Hornby, became a member of our Society in 1890 and remained with us until his death on the 16th of May, 1900.

Lieutenant-General A. H. Lane-Fox-Pitt-Rivers, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A., died May 5th, 1900, one of the most celebrated of modern archæologists, famous for his anthropological collection presented to the University of Oxford, and for his elaborate explorations of remains in Wiltshire of the Romano-British Period. General Pitt-Rivers had been a member of our Society since 1884.

WORKINGTON HALL. VIEW FROM NORTH-EAST.

PLATE I. (TO FACE P. 1.)

ART. I.—*Workington Hall.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at that place, August 24th, 1899.

"A most stately castle-like seat."—*Camden.*

LEYLAND, the chaplain to King Henry VIII, in writing about that "pretty fysher toun where shyppes cum to, cawlid Wyrkenton," (written differently Wyrekinton and Wyrkington) refers to the name as being derived from a small brooklet called the Wyre; but Chancellor Ferguson more correctly points to it as the tribal settlement *ton* or *tun* of the Weorcingas.* To this little fishing village, unpolluted by any mineral excavations, came Patric de Culwen somewhere about the close of the twelfth century, to build for himself, most probably, a rudely constructed *aula* of two or three rooms, thatched with reeds or covered with wooden shingles, and surrounded by a court-yard enclosed by a defence of wooden stakes.

During the whole of this twelfth century, the borders lapsed into a very unsettled state in consequence of the contentions arising from the Scottish claims to the sovereignty, and although for a short time peaceful relations existed between the two nations in the middle of the thirteenth century, war broke out again with renewed vigour after the death of Alexander III, in the year 1296, which lasted on and off up to the second half of the fourteenth century. Both before and after Bannockburn (1314) the land was overrun by regular organised expeditions under Bruce, and almost every homestead of value was plundered and ravaged, if not entirely destroyed. Amid all this the country knights soon learnt that fire

* See Kemble's *The Saxons in England*, vol. I, p. 477.

was

was the great trouble in such desultory warfare, and when they set about re-building they sought the strength and fire resisting capabilities of the stone arch and of massive stone walls, pierced only with small apertures. Pele towers therefore sprang up all along the border, and there is no question but that the De Culwen of the day in like manner had to transform his residence into this form. We have no certain knowledge of the date of the erection of a pele at Workington, but we find that the fourth Gilbert de Culwen received a licence to crenellate his Hall in 1379.

Gilbertus de Culwen, miles quandam domum per ipsum ut dicit apud manerium suum de Wirkyngton in com. Cumb. justa Marcham Scotiæ muro de petro et calce edificatam firmare et Kernellare.

This certainly seems to point to the date of its completion, although such licences were very often granted at a subsequent period to the erection, as proofs merely of the legalization of the work.

The vaulted basement of this pele, fortunately exists to this day. In referring to the plan it will be seen that "The Judge's Hall" is surrounded by rough rubble walls on three sides, some seven feet thick, whilst that on the fourth side is nine feet six inches thick, all pierced with narrow loops very widely splayed within, and although the old vaulted ceiling is now gone, there is ample evidence of it. The outside dimensions of the rectangular, with its length running as usual almost due east and west, are forty-three feet by thirty-four feet, *i.e.* the same length as the neighbouring pele at Isell, and seven feet wider, being as wide as the great pele at Askham Hall. The entrance was clearly at the north-west corner, marked A on the plan, on the west side of which, with the kind assistance of Mr. Alan Curwen, I have been fortunate in discovering, through a pointed archway, the entrance

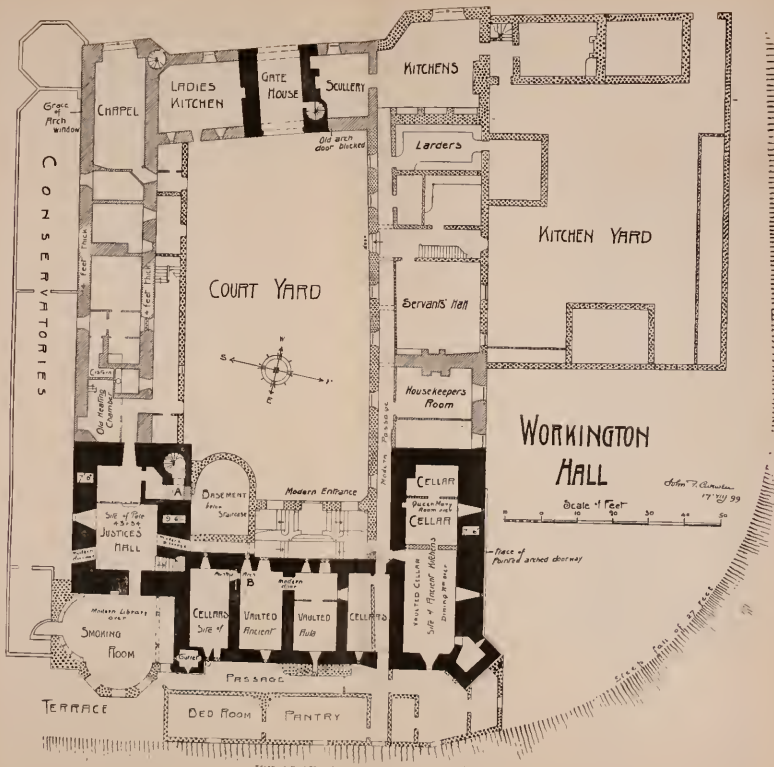

PLATE II. (TO FACE P. 31

entrance into the now blocked up well of the newel stair which led to the solar and upper floors.

Here in the vaulted cellar the family would lay by its winter store. During the autumn all oxen, sheep and pigs, except a few store cattle, were slaughtered, for the simple reason that in those days there was no winter food to keep them alive. The flesh was preserved in tubs of brine, or salted and hung, or potted and covered with lard (hence the "larder"). In this vaulted cellar would also be stored salted fish, oatmeal, and firkins of butter, together with the inevitable barrels of beer. And it would seem that, what with the fine cattle, salt pans, coney warren, dove cote, large salmon fishery, and the abundant sea fish, that this cellar would be always well supplied.

The real fighting deck was not in this basement, as some suppose, but on the summit of the pele, surmounted by a crenellated parapet some four-and-a-half feet high, from behind which the defenders discharged their missiles, and poor cheer awaited the unfortunate marauder who came within range. Nevertheless, it seems to me that at one time the cellar nearest to the tower must have formed an outer barbican for the protection of the entrance. This will be the more clearly seen by an examination of the early English arched doorway (marked B on plan) which has its door reveal and wooden bolt on the inside. Around the pele was a defensive curtain wall enclosing the courtyard on the south and west sides, whilst on the north and east, the elevated plateau slopes almost precipitately down some seventy-five feet to the deer park beneath.

But to return to the vaulted basement of the pele, it was here that the lord held his courts, receiving both suit and service ; here he administered justice according to the powers granted to him by the crown, and to these cellars, in later days before the town could boast of

of its own police court, came the prisoners, not only for justice but also for confinement. To this day the gloomy apartment goes by the name of "The Judge's Hall."

Such then was the habitation of the ordinary manorial lord in the fourteenth century, grim and foreboding, which though possessing the elements of strength and passive resistance against assault, must have been a cramped, dark and uncomfortable dwelling. But at the beginning of the fifteenth century when times became more peaceful, and property more secure, the lord was enabled to push out a bit and gain more accommodation. So here at Workington we find, built out beyond the barbican, three other vaulted cellars, and over them the *aula* of one story only, with high pitched and massive oaken timber roof. It must have been a noble apartment, with an internal measurement of fifty-six feet by twenty-two feet. This, with the exception of the great hall at Wharton Castle, (sixty-eight feet by thirty-five feet) is by far the largest known example in the two counties, the hall at Askham being only forty-four feet by twenty-three feet. Unfortunately, beside this nothing is known concerning it, but we have historical record that the cellars beneath were requisitioned for the imprisonment of the moss troopers before their final dismissal from the country to exile.

With the gradual advance in refinement came the establishment of permanent kitchens. Before, it was usual for the preparation of the food to be performed at the fireplace in the solar, parted off from my lord and lady's board by an oaken screen, or else in an outbuilding in the courtyard. So here we find, at the opposite end of the hall to the dais, a wing of vaulted cellars placed at right angles, over which there is no question that the spacious kitchens once stood. No hall could be complete without this important adjunct to hospitality, and the board of a Curwen especially required it to be of large dimensions, so here we notice the thick massive flanking wall

wall which speaks forth volumes of the spacious hearths and open-mouthed flues which must have constantly smoked for the cheer of the house.

The court from this time would gradually become enclosed with out-offices and other buildings, and it would seem that about the end of the sixteenth century, the long wing to the south side, and a short one on the north side, with an extra storey over the kitchen, were then built, with some low buildings intervening between them and the ancient Gate House.

Sir Henry Curwen was numbered with the knights who mustered at Carlisle, in August, 1570, under the banners of Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex, and Lord Scrope, to make a foray into Scotland. Of this adventure it is said that they returned not having "left a stone house standing capable of giving shelter to armed men," and Sir Henry brought back with him as a trophy the iron gates of Carlaverock Castle to hang in this gateway, where they continued to remain for upwards of some three hundred years.

Unfortunately the front facade of the gate house has been renovated, and the moulded arch-stones, at one time like those on the inner side, have given place to plain ashlar. Before the level of the courtyard was raised up some four feet, it must have had a fine and noble appearance. To its credit, it retains the last remnant of the stone mullioned Tudor windows, and by way of romance, it contains the last raiment of John Christian Curwen, an overcoat hung on a peg just as he left it before his fatal illness in 1828.

It is impossible to chronologically trace the many alterations and additions that have been made to the hall within the last two hundred years. Alterations in fact that have amounted to an almost re-building of the whole, save the foundations and basement. John Christian Curwen, who was owner from 1782—1828, was undoubtedly

doubtedly responsible for the most part of them, with Mr. Carr, of York, as his architect.

The massive walls of the upper portion of the pele have, with the exception of the wall between the solar and the library, been pulled down and re-built but thirty inches thick, seemingly for the sole purpose of providing material for the new smoking room and library which were erected against, and so as to hide, the only remaining side of the ancient structure. Over the great hall a suite of bedrooms and a geometrical stone staircase to lead upwards to them were added; whilst to effectually cover the ancient walls of the basement beneath, some out-offices were incongruously stuck on, which by the way have the further effrontery of blocking the old terrace walk overlooking the park. Throughout, the stone mullioned and latticed windows were destroyed to make room for the modern fashion of the plate glass sash.

The north wing seems also to have been completed and raised to three storeys in height, and the gate house smothered by an additional storey to the front buildings, whilst the courtyard within, besides being raised, was considerably reduced in size by the addition of a new entrance hall to the western facade and a flanking passage to the old southern wing. All of which, no doubt were of considerable improvement as regards comfort and arrangement, but still of very considerable disfigurement to the architectural and ancient character of the hall.

Over the front door is Sir Patricius' coat of arms carved in stone, bearing date 1665, and impaling those of Selby, viz:—

1 and 4 barry of ten
2 and 3 party per fess, six martlets counterchanged.

Within hangs a full length and life size portrait of this Sir

Sir Patricius, dressed in a slashed crimson doublet and trunk hose, connected by embroidered points with gold tags, scarlet stockings, crimson garters, and black shoes. His collar and cuffs are of white point lace, and from his richly gold embroidered sword-belt hangs a long rapier with a gilded hilt. He is represented as holding a small ring in his right hand, whilst in the upper left corner is the Eye of Providence, with a small label painted on the lower edge, bearing the inscription :

ASSPICE NE ADÆQVATVS

Facing the front door is a large stone tablet, measuring four by three feet, upon which are raised a crown and four shields.

1.—The Royal Arms of England with those of Eleanor of Aquitaine.
2.—Ermine a chevron.
3.—Fretty, on a chief three escallops, Curwen differenced.*
4.—Paly of seven, on a chief three roundels.

This stone was removed by General Lane Fox Pitt Rivers, from over the gateway to the Knight Templars' Castle at Rhodes, and sent by him as a gift to the present squire.

On either side are two coats cut in dark oak. The one on the left being :—

1 and 4. Fretty, a chief for Curwen.
2 and 3. A lion rampant lozengy for le Brun with crest and motto.

and the one on the right,

1 and 4. Fretty a chief.
2 and 3. A lion rampant lozengy,

Impaling

* In the absence of the tinctures, it is impossible to be certain that this coat is Curwen. EDITOR.

1 and 4

1 and 4. On a chevron three mullets between ten cinquefoils, 6 and 4, for Carus.
2. Two bars, on a canton a cinquefoil and a crescent for difference, for Preston.
3. A goat, on a chief two garbs, with the initials N.C.E.,* 1604, on a band beneath the whole.

In one of the rooms over the gateway there is a somewhat similar coat, cut in black oak, as follows :—

1 and 2. Fretty a chief.
2 and 3. A lion rampant lozengy
Impaling 1 and 4. Six annulets, 3, 2, and 1, for Musgrave of Hartley Castle.
2 and 3. Three swords conjoined at the pommels in fess, the points extended to the dexter and sinister chief points and middle base of the escutcheon: for Vipont. Over the shield a human head, with the initials N.C.A. †

On mounting the staircase there is another shield over the principal entrance into the salon, as follows :—

1 and 4. Fretty a chief, 2 and 3, a lion rampant with the usual crest supporters and motto, whilst on the upper rail is raised and gilded the initials.

ANŌ NŌE 1603.

The Salon.

On entering by the massive mahogany door, (all the doors, throughout the house, by the way, were made out of some mahogany shipwrecked on the Workington coast), you enter the great hall, and opposite to you in one of the modern sash windows, is preserved a fine old piece of stained glass, bearing a coat of fifteen quarterings as under :—

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*Nicholas Curwen married for his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Carus, of Hoghton, in Lancashire.
†Nicholas Curwen married for his first wife, Ann, daughter of Sir Simon Musgrave, of Hartley Castle, Westmorland.

1. Argent

1. Argent fretty Gules, a chief Azure, for Curwen.
2. Azure a lion rampant Argent, guttè-de-sang langued and armed Gules.
3. Sable a bend Ermine on a chief Argent three torteaux.
4. Blank (query if a shield argent).
5. Argent a chevron engrailed between three daws' heads erased Sable.
6. Argent a cross engrailed Vert.
7. Argent two bars Azure within a bordure engrailed Gules.
8. Ermine a cross Sable.
9. Sable three pales Argent.
10. Gules on a chevron engrailed Argent three dolphins Vert.
11. Argent an eagle displayed Sable beaked Gules.
12. Party per pale Or and Sable, a saltire engrailed.
13. Argent a lion rampant Azure crowned Or langued and armed Gules.
14. Ermine an escutcheon of pretence Azure.
15. Argent fretty Gules, a chief Azure.

Impaling

1 and 4. Barry of ten Or and Sable for Selby.

2 and 3. Party per fess Argent and Gules six martlets counter-changed.

the whole is surrounded by its crest, supporters and motto, with the date beneath of 1634.*

There is in the salon a beautifully wrought marble mantel piece of the Corinthian order, which is said to have come from some palace in Italy, with Apollo and the nine Muses as a central carved panel. Above is a mythological subject with a timepiece in the centre, and it will be noticed that the man leaning forward to speak across to the female, has, at his back, a cock, the significance of which I cannot determine.

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* This will be the armorial atchievement of Sir Patricius Curwen, of Workington Hall from 1623 to 1664. He married Isabella, daughter of Sir George Selby, of Whiteham, Durham. After the death of Sir Patricius, Lady Curwen put up an hatchment in his honour. This gave great offence to Dugdale, the famous herald, who threatened to come and forcibly depose it. I cannot find that he did so, but the hatchment was probably a copy of "the atchievement" here described. See Ferguson *The M.P's of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 345. EDITOR.

On

On the walls at either end are two very fine full length portraits, said to be by Romney, one of the heiress Isabella, with a background of the Bell Isle House, and the other of J. Christian Curwen, leading a horse, which is supposed to have been painted in by Gainsborough.

There are also two beautiful pictures which seem to be from Romney's brush, and painted to illustrate Hayley's poem, "The Triumphs of Temper." In the first, Serena is represented as passing to the "Dome of Spleen through the Gulf of Indolence," in a boat propelled by the evil spectre "Apathy," but her friendly sprite, LOVE, still beckons to her with the encouragement to

> "Embark undaunted! on the farther side
> Thou'lt surely find me, thy unfailing guide.
> . . . . . .
> So place thee in the boat his arms direct,
> My love shall watch thee, and my power protect."

In the second, Serena is seen under the Spell of Romance,

> "Eager in fiction's touching scenes to find
> A field to exercise her youthful mind;
> Possess't by Sympathy's enchanting sway,
> She read, unconcious of the dawning day."

A little below is a portrait of "Galloping Harry," once Lord of Workington, which, for a long time, hung with its face to the wall, on account of his Roman Catholic faith, and also for his having alienated as much of the unentailed property as he could, to prevent its passing to the Protestant branch at Sella Park, who had, in his opinion, wrongfully done him out of the estates whilst he remained with James II. in exile. He owned a famous horse called the "Curwen Barb," from whom many a noted blood horse has descended. There is also on one of

of the end walls, a most speaking likeness of Henry, the son of John Christian Curwen, portrayed in his favourite pastime of literary study.

Passing through to the library, whose walls are incased from floor to ceiling with a valuable collection of books, we notice another marble mantle piece, the companion to the one in the dining room. Here the carved panel represents Old Saturnus trying to cut down the monument of Eternal Affection, which young Cupid is sturdily supporting with his shoulder, happily resulting in old Time breaking his scythe in the attempt. On the mantel is an ancient travelling clock, which it is said was given to the family by Mary Queen of Scots, in grateful memory of her enforced stay at the Hall. And as relics of John Christian Curwen, we notice his hunting horn of boxwood, mounted with silver, whereupon is a hunting scene and the date 1776 engraved. Close beside is a glass electioneering goblet, engraved "Christian and Liberty, 1786," and upon a table near by is his certificate of the freedom of the city of Edinburgh.

The drawing room or solar of the pele, is entered from the library, through the massive seven foot wall, being the only side of the ancient tower existing, above the basement level. On the walls hang four large mirrors in carved wood and copper frames, richly gilded, of the time of Queen Elizabeth; considering the date of their execution, they certainly are very fine and large pieces of silvered glass. The portrait hanging between the windows is of Dr. Robert Curwen, a Cromwellian, who sat at Manchester, as one of the sequestrators of the Royalists' estates.

But the most interesting object in the room is the small glazed cabinet, which contains all the precious heirlooms of the family. Here, there is the original deed made between William de Lancaster I. and Gospatrick, exchanging Middleton, in Westmorland, for Lamplugh and Workington

Workington.* Also the grant in 1400, from Henry, Earl of Northumberland, to Sir William, of all their rights in the manors of Wyrkington, &c., still bearing the two seals of Northumberland and Hotspur, in red wax.† Also the grant from Henry V. to Sir Christopher of the Castle of Canny, in Caux, dated 30th of January, 1419, with a fragment of the large white wax privy seal attached.‡ There is also a lease of this property for seven years, in 1435, from Sir Christopher. Also a grant dated 4th December, 25, Henry VI. from the King to Sir Christopher, endorsed as follows: "In consideration of his age, and the great service done to the late King, in his wars of France, exempting him from serving in any assize, &c., or for serving the office of sheriff, and several other things."

Lying beside these is the silver seal of Sir Christopher, some one and a half inches in diameter, and the silver snuff box given by Cromwell to his general, Fairfax, on his marriage with Miss Curwen. It is said that he came down to Workington to sequester the estates, fell in love with Miss Curwen, and so reported favourably, with the result that a heavy fine was imposed instead. On the front of the snuff box is engraved a quartered coat.

1. A chevron between three griffins' heads.
2. Ermine a cross saltire.
3. Two bends.
4. A lion rampant.

whilst on the back is an engraving of Perseus and Andromeda.

Side by side with Galloping Harry's silver drinking flask, there is lovingly preserved in this cabinet the drinking cup of Mary Queen of Scots, or "The Luck of

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* Printed in these *Transactions*, Vol. V. p. 312.
† Printed in these *Transactions*, Vol. V., p. 313.
‡ Printed in these *Transactions*., Vol. V. p. 313.

Workington." It is a small cup of Scotch agate, some two inches in diameter, brought by Lord Herries, from Dundrenan Abbey, in the hastily packed basket of refreshments provided for the journey, and given by the Queen as a parting gift to Sir Henry, with the hearty old English sentiment of "Luck to Workington."

Around the walls of the dining room are fifteen very clever paintings, made to represent plaster bas-reliefs. They were executed by a young man of considerable genius, whom John Christian Curwen encouraged, and sent to Rome to study, but who died on the passage out, before he had attained his twenty-first year. The one over the mantle-piece represents the "Aldobrandine Marriage," and the one over the sideboard is evidently intended for the "Triumph of Bacchus."

The mantle-piece is worthy of very close attention, being flanked on either side by columns of Blue John Darbyshire Spar. The centre carved panel, the companion to the mantle-piece in the library, represents the Three Graces sacrificing to Venus, with the monument of Eternal Affection entwined with garlands.

The western portion of the dining room, beyond the columns, once formed a portion of the bedroom adjoining, and it was in this spacious apartment that the unfortunate Royal fugitive slept, in the month of May 1568. Miss Strickland informs us that the Queen embarked with Lord Herries, and sixteen of her train, in the secluded little bay at the Abbey Burnfoot, and desired to sail to France, but the wind and tide being contrary, the little fishing boat was driven into the harbour of Workington, on a Sabbath evening. Here Sir Henry, being the manorial lord of the district, at once conducted the party to his own house, where they were met and welcomed by Lady Curwen and the Dowager Lady, who, it is said, provided the Queen and her ladies with a change of linen, and such other articles of dress as could be

be rendered available for their use. Such was the first scene of that tedious captivity which only terminated with her death.

So here slept the Queen, and here slept I, dreaming of the changeful scenes that have passed between its walls, until the morning's knock made me startle, as if it was the ghostly head of Galloping Harry bumping down the stair. For the hall is not without its ghost story, and terrible it is. It seems that when Galloping Harry was nigh unto death, a French lady and her maid took him by his heels, and pulled the old man down the stairs to a lower room, where they seated him in a high-backed chair. Telling the servants that their master was much better and was not to be disturbed, they immediately decamped with all the available jewelry, and embarked in a small vessel from the harbour. Fifty years after, an old woman appeared in Workington, and reported that she had been the maid, that their vessel had been wrecked off the Scilly Islands, her mistress drowned, the valuables lost, and that she herself, having been saved by a French fishing smack, had taken the veil to find peace in a convent, had now come back again to unburden her soul and die.

There is hanging on the staircase walls a curious portrait of Mary Stuart, presented by herself to Sir Henry and Lady Curwen. It is in profile, and represents her at the age of twenty-five, when the two and a half years of bitter domestic trouble had tempered the brilliancy of her beauty with a pervading shade of sadness. She wears a loose gown of crimson brocade, slashed with satin longitudinal stripes, and edged with gold escallops. In place of the ruff, she wears a straight collar, embroidered and edged with gold, open in front to shew a pearl necklace, white point tucker, and muslin kerchief. A small round cap is placed at the back of her head, over which is thrown a large transparent veil, edged and diagonally striped with gold

gold, which forms a graceful drapery, falling like a mantle on her shoulders.*

On the wall opposite and below the stair, there is a white marble head of Queen Mary, who with Philip of Spain regranted all the Harrington estates back to the family on the payment of £487. The deed which was dated July 1st, 1556, and which bore splendid coloured portraits of the grantors, is now unfortunately missing from the collection of valuable documents.

Here also is a portrait of William Dhône, or fair-haired William, as William Christian was called. He sided with the Manxmen against the high spirited Countess of Derby and her son, until the Restoration, when the Countess seized upon William and condemmed him to be publicly executed, after an illegal trial, by being shot at Hango-hill, on the 2nd of January, 1662. The story is well set forth in the appendix to Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*. Close by is the portrait of a fine old lady, who is said to be the grandmother of the heiress Isabella. Upstairs, on the landing, there is hung the portrait of Isabel, the wife of Patricius, holding in her hand young Henry, who, born in 1621, died at his school in August, 1636. And many other family portraits, including Henry and his sister, (the father and aunt of Isabella), painted by I. Wollaston, in 1737, and of Eldred, who died in 1745.

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* This picture was exhibited at Carlisle, in the temporary museum formed on the occasion of the visit of the Royal Archaeological Institute to Carlisle, in 1859. The catalogue of the museum, compiled by Messrs. Franks, Tucker, and Way, says of it, "A local tradition was prevalent, that the Queen had presented to him, (Sir Henry Curwen), this identical portrait, as a token of her esteem of his hospitality, and it has been engraved for Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of Scotland*, adopting that tradition. It is, however, certain that the portrait, which possesses considerable interest, and may possibly have some resemblance to Mary, is not of her period: it may have been acquired by the family in memory of so remarkable a royal visit." EDITOR.

ART. II.—*The influence of the Roman occupation upon the distribution of population in Cumberland and Westmorland.* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Keswick, June 29th, 1899.

THE subject of the moral condition, numerical strength, and political organization of the Northern Britons in the period succeeding the Roman evacuation is one of great obscurity. In the following pages we shall call attention to a certain group of facts; which being determined by only one of numerous methods of investigation, needs unquestionably to be examined alongside a quantity of other evidence. This, however, is not the purpose of the present paper, in which we shall attempt only to approach a difficult subject from a particular standpoint: and it will remain to be judged whether certain conclusions, pointed to mainly by archæological evidence, can be over-ridden by the united testimony of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon Chronicles and the Annals of the early Celtic Church. It seems to us, however, that before such a question can be conclusively answered, a much larger area than that we treat of—the Northern half of the Province of Britain in fact—should be subjected to an examination on the lines which we propose to attempt here.

Most people who have travelled at all widely in the old world must have been struck by the fact that in some countries, such as the Nile Valley, continuity of residence has been the general rule from remote ages; that is to say, that although some countries have, no less than others, been subject to conquest by alien races, and have been repeatedly swept over, and occupied or colonized, by new waves of conquest, the original centres of population have

have been invariably re-inhabited: whereas in other countries, densely populated in ancient times, the newer arrivals have ignored the sites of early towns and villages, which can now be traced only by mounds and ruins. As a type of this class we may take the lower Euphrates, especially as, like the sister valley of the Nile, it was the scene of one of the great Biblical civilizations, and fell at the same periods approximately, beneath the Roman Eagle and crescent of Islam.

Of course there are reasons for these anomalies, although they are not in all cases very apparent. There are many things to consider: the vigour or degeneracy of the conquered race; the question whether it was only subdued or whether it was exterminated or dispersed; or, in the case of the occupation of a barbarous country by a civilized power, whether the garrison was ultimately entirely withdrawn, and if so, whether the withdrawal was, or was not, followed by internal political complications, or aggression on the part of neighbouring peoples. We should also look at the habits ond customs of any supplanting or incoming race; and examine the suitability of the old sites for their requirements. For in some cases the newcomers may have been precluded, by a narrow geographical range, from forming new centres, and have become merged in the conquered population: while in others a wide and varied country face may have encouraged them to pick and choose according to their traditional requirements, and so neglect the existing towns.

Most of us who have examined at all carefully the Archæological map of our district (Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire over Sands) will probably have been struck by the fact that while the known Roman sites are very numerous, the number of those which are occupied by ancient towns or villages is comparatively small; the actual ratio, as we shall see, being in fact about nine or ten

ten out of about thirty-four of the principal castra or stations. In the following pages we shall try to find an explanation of this. In the ensuing table—

Column A	contains	Roman camps, the sites of which are occupied, or surrounded, by ancient market towns and villages.
Column B	,,	Camps, the sites of which are unoccupied by, and isolated from, ancient towns or villages.
Column C	,,	Camps, the sites of which are adjacent to an ancient town or important village.
Column D	,,	Camps, within which, or close to which, are ancient parish churches.
Column E	,,	Camps containing the site of a mediæval castle or stronghold.
Column F	,,	Camps contiguous to harbours or road-steads.

R.W.=Roman Wall.

On looking at this table a number of questions, by no means easy to answer, at once present themselves. To begin with, the first three columns raise an interesting point, viz.—to what extent the camps themselves influenced the placing of the various Teutonic settlements. The fourth column naturally suggests further scrutiny of the supposed Roman-British and early churches, while the list of names of sites, offers a mass of material which requires sifting for indications of the races which settled in or near the camps.

Of what may be termed reliable historical information relating to our own locality at the close of the Roman occupation and the period immediately succeeding it, there is very little indeed. What there is we shall later revert to. But were we in absolute darkness we should naturally conclude that the buildings, barracks, and towns lying behind the Cumberland wall would be occupied upon the withdrawal of the Roman garrison, by the Britons

CAMPS, &c.	A. Occupied by an ancient village.	B. Unoccupied and isolated.	C. Adjacent to an ancient village.	D. Parish Church.	E. Mediæval castle.	F. Ancient harbour.
1. Bewcastle	—	—	—	St. Mary or St. Cuthbert (close to).	1	—
2. Birdoswald, R.W.	—	1	—	—	—	—
3. Borrans Ring (Ambleside) ...	—	—	Near Ambleside.	—	—	—
4. Bowness-on-Solway, R.W. ...	1	—	—	St. Michael (close to).	—	—
5. Brough-under-Stanemore... ...	1	—	—	—	1	—
6. Brougham	—	—	Near Penrith.	—	1	—
7. Burgh-on-Sands	1	—	—	St. Michael.	—	—
8. Burrow Walls (Workington) ...	—	1 (?)	—	—	1	Workington.
9. Cambeck Fort (Castlesteads), R.W.	—	1	—	—	—	—
10. Carlisle, R.W.	1	—	—	1	—	—
11. Caermot	—	1	—	—	—	—
12. Copeland Beck	—	1	—	—	—	—
13. Dalton-in.Furness	1	—	—	St. Mary.	—	—
14. Drumburgh, R.W.	—	1 (?)	—	—	—	—
15. Egremont (site doubtful)	1	—	—	St. Mary or St. Michael (?)	1 (?)	—
16. Ellenborough	—	—	Near Maryport.	—	—	Maryport.
17. Hardknott	—	1	—	—	—	—
18. Keswick (camp site doubtful) ...	1 (?)	—	—	—	—	—
19. Kirkby Thore	1	—	—	—	1 (Whelp Castle).	—
20. Low Borrow bridge	—	1	—	—	—	—
21. Maiden Castle (Stanemore) ...	—	1	—	—	—	—
22. Mawbray or Mawburgh	—	1	—	—	—	St. Catherine's hole (Roadstead).
23. Moresby	1 (?)	1 (?)	—	St. Bridget.	—	Parton.
24. Muncaster	—	—	Near Ravenglass.	—	—	Ravenglass.
25. Netherby	—	1	—	—	1	—
26. Old Carlisle (Wigton)	—	—	Near Wigton.	—	—	—
27. Pap Castle	—	—	Near Cockermouth	—	1 (Pipers Castle)	—
28. Plumpton Wall (Old Penrith) ...	—	1	—	—	—	—
29. Redlands (Crackenthorpe Common)	—	1	—	—	—	—
30. Reycross	—	1	—	—	—	—
31. Stanwix, R.W.	1	—	—	St. Michael.	—	—
32. Watchcross (?), R.W.	—	1	—	—	—	—
33. Watercrook (Kendal)	—	—	Near Kendal.	—	—	—
34. Whitbarrow	—	1	—	—	—	—
Approximate Totals	10	17	7	8	8	5

Note to the Table.

It is almost impossible to reduce this table to any degree of exactness. Moresby, for instance, occurs in both Columns A and B, because it contains the church, and perhaps the ancient village was alongside it. In Column B there is really an ancient village at Drumburgh, though it is unimportant. Burrow Walls is close to Workington, a modern development as a town; but looking at the name, we conclude there was an early Anglian settlement there, so that perhaps Burrow Walls should really be in Column C. In Column C, in like manner, Ellenborough is two-thirds of a mile from Maryport, which is modern, but had an ancient settlement on the Castle Hill. In Column D the exact boundaries of the original camp area at Carlisle, Egremont, and Dalton are uncertain, so that it cannot be said whether the church is or is not included by them. The mediæval stronghold which gives Burrow Walls a place in Column E rests only on evidence which must be examined in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, II., pp. 142 and 260, and *Transactions C. and W. Antiq., and Arch. Assoc.*, V, 22. Walls Castle, really a Roman villa, just outside the Muncaster camp, was by tradition the ancient Castle of the Penningtons; and it certainly seems possible that it may owe its preservation to adoption in early times as a fortress. In Column F it should be noted that all the harbours were probably used in Roman times, though Parton and Maryport were modern re-developments. It seems, however doubtful if any except Ravenglass were in regular use in early mediæval days.

Britons in the vicinity. The Roman occupation must have bequeathed to the district a considerable semi-Romanized population of mixed blood—a poor hybrid race, there is reason to believe, washed over little more than skin-deep with a coat of Roman culture. Yet though we may be justified in believing this to have been the case, it is undoubtedly a matter of much difficulty to decide whether, and if so for how long, they retained any semblance of civil or military organization or political cohesion.

History has often shewn that though the occupation of a weak or barbarous country by a strong civilized power may improve the country, it does not always succeed in improving the people. We all know what would happen if England withdrew from Egypt, and it is quite possible that a similar lapse might take place in Britain on the termination of Roman rule. Roman civilization in Northern Britain may have been a shallow veneer only; because in spite of the advantages they inherited in the shape of fortified strongholds and roads, some acquaintance surely with architecture, engineering, and military discipline, the figure they make in local history in subsequent centuries is insignificant. The stage becomes crowded with the warlike and barbaric figures of the Angles and Norse, while the Britons themselves, in spite of their three hundred and thirty years of Roman tuition, appear as mere "supers."

THE TEUTONIC SETTLEMENTS.

The first method we shall attempt for elucidating these obscure questions is that of examining as well as we can, the systems followed by the various Teutonic settlers when they took up the land. The sites adopted in such settlements would in most cases be dictated partly by the productive quality of the land they invaded, partly by the position of actual sites occupied by the inhabitants

tants, partly by the amount of successful opposition they encountered, and of course partly by their own wants and habits. If we find on the one hand that the newcomers habitually occupied the camp sites, the natural conclusion would be that they found them habitable, and that they expelled the occupants and took their homes. If on the other hand they avoided them, it would point rather to the invaders finding them uninhabited and uninhabitable, though it is certainly a possible hypothesis that, under certain circumstances, newcomers might settle without conflict with, and in the neighbourhood of the occupying race.

The various events in the Anglian advance from the East, which led up to the settlement of the more fertile districts of Cumberland and Westmorland, need hardly detain us here*: it is sufficient to say that while some few Anglians may have established themselves soon after the occupation of the Dee and Mersey districts, it is generally agreed that it was during the time of Ecgfrith (670—685) that most of the early settlements were made. It was therefore only some two hundred and sixty years after the final withdrawal of Roman government.

The Anglian advance entered the district from the East, following the Roman wall, on the line of which they placed numerous settlements adjacent to, but seldom

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* The principal are—

c. 607.—The splitting in two of the Kymric realm by the English occupation of Dee and Mersey district. Battle af Chester, 607. After this the Lake District became the southern end of Northern Cumbria or Strathclyde, although south of the river Derwent was perhaps considered Anglian by the Angles.

635.—Victory of Oswald over Caedwalla, near Hexham. Mission work of Aidan. Bewcastle Cross erected 670.

670—685—Cumbrian Britons broken up by Ecgfrith, and possibly driven into the hills of the Lake District. The Cumberland and Westmorland plain settled by the Angles. About this time the southern parts of the counties were regarded as Deiran territory.

677.—Gift to St. Cuthbert by Ecgfrith, of Cartmel and all the Britons in it (Bede).

685.—Gift to St. Cuthbert by the same King, of Carlisle and fifteen miles round it (Simeon of Durham).

upon

upon, the Roman castra. From Carlisle they swept round the coast by the older Roman road, and they spread along other Roman ways to Wigton, the Penrith district, and to Englewood: and again we shall find that they carefully avoided occupying the actual Roman centres.*

It may be convenient to make an examination of the the names in some detail as we proceed: but we must be cautious not to place too much reliance on this method. The analysis of the modern names of Roman camps would have considerable value if every site had a name of its own, and was not named, as is often the case, from an adjacent village or physical feature. Moreover, the derivation of place names is as yet no exact science, and often even when sure of the meaning, we cannot be equally certain of the language from which it is directly derivable.†

To begin with, Column A of our table shews only three Roman camps, the sites of which are occupied by ancient towns, the names of which appear to be Anglian or Anglo-Saxon. They are Dalton, Burgh, and Brough.

The last two belong to a particular group of names which, occurring as they do in our district in an Anglian settled locality, we are probably justified in deriving from the A.S. "burh,"‡ which again represents the Greek πύργος and the Latin "burgum." Vegetius (A.D. 375),

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* For practical purposes we ignore the Saxons as a separate factor in race immigration in our district. "Ham" the test word, is found in South Westmorland and Furness, as Heversham, Beetham, and Aldingham. Further north, Brougham is a Roman site, but it looks like a corruption of Brocavum, its Roman name. "Ham" is certainly, in some cases, a corruption of "holm."

† The derivations, or perhaps it should be said, the classification of the names here suggested, are at best only tentative: for though the present writer has visited a large number of the ancient sites, he cannot claim great familiarity with the various neighbourhoods.

‡ It is remarkable that Dr. Christison cannot find any regular application of the forms "burrow," "burgh," &c., in Scotland earlier than the beginning of the twelfth century. *Early Fortifications of Scotland*, p. 41, &c.

defines

defines the smallest kind of Roman fortress "Castellum parvum quod burgum vocant."*

But in this group of names we find altogether—

Burgh on Sands. R.W. (Burgo in the Wetherhal Register.)
Brough under Stanemore. (Burgo in the Wetherhal Register.)
Mawburgh.
Birdoswald (Burgh Oswald). R.W. (Birdoswald in Wetherhal Register.)
Ellenborough.
Burrow walls.
Low Borrow bridge.
Whitbarrow (probably correctly Whiteborough).
Brougham (perhaps the A.S. edition of Brocavum).
Drumburgh. R.W. The mediæval forms Drumboc and Drumbegh render this extremely doubtful.

Here we observe that though we have nine or ten camps, which were apparently named by the Angles as towers or fortifications, there appear to have been only two—Burgh-on-Sands and Brough—where settlements were made which became permanent.

Turning to the Anglian test word "ton," we find a group equally suggestive—

Dalton believed to occupy site of a Roman Camp.			
Workington,	near the camp	Burrow walls.	
Wigton,	,,	,,	Old Carlisle.
Plumpton,	,,	,,	Castlesteads (old Penrith).
Walton. R.W.	,,	,,	Castlesteads.
Irthington. R.W.	,,	,,	Watchcross,

which apparantly indicates that the Anglians planted one "ton" settlement on a camp site, and about five in the immediate vicinity of, but not upon, the actual sites of

* The Norse may have picked up their "borg," and the Arabs their "burj" from their respective early collisions and connections with the Byzantines.

Roman

Roman camps. In other words, in all the cases except one the actual camp site was purposely avoided.*

What Danish influence can be traced in our localty, is due to the incursions of Halfdene, who ravaged Cumberland, sacked Carlisle, and sore distressed the Strathclyde Welsh in 875, or something less than five hundred years after the Roman evacuation. The countrymen of Halfdene who settled in the district were by no means so numerous as the Angles: though, in the same way, we can trace them along the lines of Roman road by the place names, in their advance from the East.

The Danish "bys" were often planted cheek by jowl alongside the Anglian "tons." The camps which remain unoccupied, and in the vicinity of which Danish settlements can be traced, are numerous. On the other hand, we find four camps only, which from their names may have been appropriated by Danes: and of these, one—Netherby—now contains a stronghold instead of a village. They are—

Moresby.
Netherby.
Kirkby Thore.
Stanwix. R.W.

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* "Mot" in Caermot, perhaps Anglian, is very difficult to deal with. It seems to be identical with "mota," the name of the A.S. "burhs" in post-Conquest charters. But there is no evidence that in Anglo-Saxon times this class of earthwork was known to the people by any other word than "burh." Yet in Scotland, at the present day, they are often called "Motes," and also in our own district, where we find the characteristic examples of Aldingham, Liddell, and Brampton Motes. To account for this, it has been suggested that the word was introduced into the north in post-Conquest times; and it is worth noting that in Galloway there are numerous forts thus known which are not of the A.S. "burh" type. (See Christison's *Early Fortifications in Scotland*, Chaps. I-III.)

If we accept the assumption that "mot," as applied to any sort of fortification, is of late introduction in the north, we may possibly be justified in classing with it such fortified sites as contain "mont," which perhaps indicates the original form. Thus Egremont (Agremont *temp.* Hen. II) has a very Norman-Latin sound, though Mr. Collingwood suggests Egener-mot, the "mot" on the Egen or Ehen, formed with the Scandinavian genitive. On the other hand, Eamont, (spelled by Leland Emot) has been tentatively identified with Eamot or Eamotum, the site of Athelstan's treaty in 926, (A.S. Chronicle). Whether this identification be correct or not, it seems possible that the name originally was applied to the Roman camp at Brougham or the great stony ring at Mayborough, and not to the river.

The

The Norse immigration came over the sea from the West, but the date, unrecorded in history, is not even yet quite certain. It was, however, either in the latter half of the ninth century or in the middle of the tenth.* The Vikings took little notice of Roman roads and cared nought for Roman camps. They marched straight up into the fells, and settled right and left in the very hiding places where the Britons are supposed to have been if the earlier date be the true one. If it be not, and the Norse did not come till after the battle of Dunmail Raise in 945, the Britons had got their quietus; but whichever was the case, it is plain that though the Vikings had no particular taste for the neighbourhood of the Angles and Danes near the sea, they did not care two straws for all the Britons who were in the fells when they arrived.

Norse place-names, therefore, do not help this enquiry very much, because there are few camps in the fells where the Norsemen chiefly settled. Keswick and Bowness-on-Solway are, however, perhaps examples of camp sites actually settled; but neither example is reliable, for Bowness may be Danish, while the actual site of the Keswick camp, and also the derivation of the name are questionable. On the other hand, Ambleside and Kendal may be fairly taken as examples of Norse settlements placed purposely clear of Roman camps. The name Borrans applied to the first, and Burwens, at Kirkby Thore, may be Celtic loan words or adoptions into the vocabularies of the Scandinavian settlers.†

The word "castle" found at at least nine or ten Roman sites,‡ may be an echo of the Roman "castellum" or of

* The later theory, based on certain data in the Sagas, is that it took place between 870 and 895. The older one, that the immigration followed the wasting of Cumbria by King Edmund, and the battle of Dunmail Raise (945).

† Various and widely distributed forms are found in Ireland, Scotland, Orkney, Man, and Cumbria: sometimes applied to natural rocky excrescences, in other cases to ruined sites. A "borran" in the Lakes is still a heap of rocky *dèbris* or a cairn.

‡ Castlesteads at Watercrook, Plumpton Wall, and Cambeck Fort. Castlerigg and Crag near Keswick: Hardknott Castle. The Castle an old name for the Ambleside Camp (*vide* West's *Guide*), Castlefields, Mawburgh. Bewcastle and Pap Castle contained the mediæval fortresses of Bueth and Piperd.

kindred

kindred Celtic forms, but it seems likely that it was not applied to the ruined camps till the date when "castle" was the recognized popular word for a fortress. Considering how varied were the elements which formed the people, that date would probably be comparitively late.*

It is certain that the evidence of the settlements must have some sort of meaning; and it would seem that we are fairly justified in concluding that during all the period of Teutonic settlement, that is approximately from the middle of the seventh century to the middle of the tenth century, the newcomers frequently avoided the old Roman centres. This is especially noticeable on the Roman wall along which the Angles, the most numerous of all the immigrant races, entered the country. For on the Cumberland part of the Wall there are about eight large castra and minor stations between Birdoswald and Bowness inclusive, yet only four—Bowness, Burgh, Stanwix, and Carlisle †—retained a continuity of population through to mediæval and modern times.‡ We find also in our table that about seven ancient towns or

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* It would be possible, though probably not very profitable, to carry the enquiry into the origin of the site and settlement names a good deal further. It may, however, be worth while to apply the same method of classification to Columns A, B, and C of the table. In Column A (sites occupied) we find one site with a pure Celtic name—Carlisle; three with names probably Anglian—Dalton, Burgh, and Brough; and three with Danish names—Stanwix, Moresby, and Kirkby Thore; while two—Bowness, and Keswick—are presumably Norse, and one—Egremont—perhaps mediæval.

In Column B (unoccupied sites) Maiden Castle is alone certainly Celtic; six—Birdoswald, Burrow walls, Mawburgh, Plumpton wall, Low Borrow bridge, and Whitbarrow—apparantly Angle or A.S.; one Danish—Netherby. Cambeck sounds Norse, but Mr. Collingwood suggests it retains a familiar name to St. Finian; and the remainder are mediæval or uncertain.

In Column C (where the settlements are clear of the sites) the adjacent settlements are, one Angle or A.S.—Wigton; two Norse—Ambleside and Kendal. The date of the old settlement at Maryport is uncertain. And the origin of Penrith and Ravenglass is obscure.

† As Chancellor Ferguson in his *History of Cumberland* (p. 159), points out, the very fact that Carlisle retained its name, shews that the two hundred years during which the chroniclers say it was uninhabited, must not be taken too literally.

‡ Carlisle retained, probably till 573, a sort of Roman supremacy in the north. Stanwix lived only, I think, as a suburb of Carlisle. Bowness and Burgh may have had special reasons for continuous existence, to which we shall refer later.

settlements

settlements, all still populous, were purposely built a mile or so clear of the old castra. Why so? May we not fairly answer that the settlers found them uninhabited ruins, and, ignorant of their history, regarded them superstitiously as the work of the devil or of enchanters. For the same reasons numerous other sites were carefully given a wide berth. Yet we find that about eight camps contained mediæval castles; but this may only mark the decay of superstition as the country people in a few centuries became familiar with the ruins.

Clearly, if, when the Angles came about 670, the Roman sites were still the centres of population, there would have been a struggle between the two races. Yet there does not seem to have been, because, if the Angles had beaten the Roman Britons, they would no doubt have occupied the enemy's strongholds. If the Angles were worsted, they would surely never have dared to settle so near the victors, if indeed they settled at all. What they seem to have done, was to plant their homesteads alongside the camps, because there the land was most fertile, but hardly ever on them, from ignorance and superstition. So also the Danes. On the other hand the Norse knew they could not hit it off with their Teutonic brethren on the plains, and went straight to the fells. Evidently in the high ground also, the British were at that period an enemy not worth the consideration of a band of marauding Vikings.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

Another method can be applied to test the movements and condition of the Roman Britons when left to themselves. If we can establish the existence of a Christian Church before the earliest arrival of the Teutonic races, there must have been a resident population to work on. Further, if we can prove that these pre-Anglian missions planted the cross on the sites where the Romans had dwelt

dwelt, we must conclude that the Britons still inhabited them, and either welcomed, as Christians, the priests of the faith, or if still Pagan accepted the faith itself. Conversely, if the early churches were placed clear of the Roman sites, the population must have been scattered, and certainly were not carrying on the traditions of Roman culture.

THE ROMAN-BRITISH CHURCH.

Christianity became practically the State religion of the Roman Empire with the proclamation of Constantine the Great in 324, A.D., although Paganism was not proscribed. At the final evacuation of Britain in 409, Christianity had been (with a brief break in the reign of Julian) the State religion of the empire for about eighty-five years: or reckoning from the first withdrawal of the army in 387, from which date the neighbourhood of the Wall was a theatre of bloodshed, there had been only some sixty-three years for the new faith to make its way among the Britons.

Although at first sight it seems remarkable that Christian relics of the Roman period are practically unknown in Cumberland, and are indeed of extreme rarity in Britain, the causes really are fairly plain. The disturbed condition of the Empire of the West during the fourth century when the very fabric of the realm was tottering, the great distance of the northern frontier of Britain, from the Imperial capital, the fact that the garrison troops were chiefly levies from all corners of the Empire, and not native Italians, caused a complete neglect of religion in the district of the Roman Wall. There might be many zealous Christians among the officers: but to attempt to push the faith among the wild Batavians, Moors, or Spaniards, would have probably brought the staff face to face with mutiny. No orders were issued for the erection of garrison churches, and

and the army of occupation remained, to all intents and purposes, a Pagan force.

The influence of at least four distinct Celtic Churches can still be traced in the district; and for convenience we may adopt Mr. W. G. Collingwood's handy classification,* though it must be understood that the date of each Church does not necessarily imply an equally early period in the local development:

1.	Roman-British of Ninian	4th century
2.	Irish of Patrick	5th ,,
3.	Kymric of Kentigern	6th ,,
4.	Anglo-Scottish of Cuthbert	7th ,,

THE BRITISH CHURCH OF ST. NINIAN.

The evidence of any local development of Ninian's Church south of the Wall in the fourth century is quite inadequate. Ninian, a Solway-born Briton, founded Whithern, at the end of the fourth century, and died in 432 A.D. In our own part of Cumbria we find a Ninian church near Brougham (a Roman site), and wells at Brisco (fairly close to a main Roman road), and Loweswater (quite clear of Roman remains).

The proposition made by Mr. Lees, that Ninian himself entered Cumberland as a mission field, never found much acceptance. As a matter of fact, if we reject entirely the idea of a Roman-British Church or a Roman-Christian garrison, the proposition falls to the ground.† If Ninian was enabled in such terrible times to enter Cumberland as a missionary, he would have to approach the Roman executive as the representatives of the government and

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*In his paper *Lost Churches in the Carlisle Diocese:* these *Transactions*, vol. XV, p. 288.

† See "St. Ninian's Church, Brougham," by Rev. Thomas Lees. These *Transactions*, vol. IV., p. 420). Mr. Lees would bring Ninian to Brougham in 396, the very year Stilicho's legion came hurrying back to the border to drive out the Picts and Scots, under whom the whole district was being wasted.

the

the head-quarters of the district. Can we imagine that he would have any encouragement from the military authorities, who from 396 to 402 had their hands full, and whose only policy, even in tranquil times, was to let religion slide completely in the garrison? Ninian might certainly be licensed to work among the British tribes which were not in contact with the garrison, but he would be peremptorily warned off all Roman stations, and no St. Ninian's Church, we may rest assured, was founded till well after 409 A.D. The very fact that two of the sites where the name is preserved, are on Roman lines refer them almost conclusively to a post-Roman date. They may well be as late as the time of Kentigern.

THE IRISH CHURCH OF ST. PATRICK.*

The Patrick and Bridget dedications undoubtedly bear witness to the presence of Irish missionaries in our district; but there appears to be no evidence that they are early. Mr. Collingwood, in his paper on "Lost Churches," says :—

> The traditional date of the founding of St. Bees about 650 is just the date of strong Irish influence in Anglian Cumbria. . . . There was constant intercourse between the Anglian Kingdom and Ireland.

The six churches dedicated to St. Bridget, Patrick's fellow worker, lie in a fairly compact group on the west side of Cumberland, and near the coast, just as we should expect to find the traces of Irish missionaries. They are—

1. Bridekirk, about two miles from Papcastle Camp.
2. Brigham, about one and a half miles from Papcastle.
3. Beckermet, three miles from the camp at Egremont.

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* St. Patrick was sent to Ireland 433 A.D., immediately after Ninian's death.

4. Bassenthwaite, no camp in vicinity.
5. Moresby, in the camp.
6. Kirkbride,* where there is a doubtful Roman camp.

The attributions to St. Patrick are widely scattered, and far less satisfactory. Aspatria, and Patrickeld near Calder, which are both on the west of Cumberland, are no doubt authentic, and Patterdale has also a church and a well, called after the saint.† All three are fairly close to Roman roads, but clear away from camps. But Preston Patrick and Bampton Patrick in Westmorland are doubtful, for they may have been named from an early Lord, although the Bampton Church is a Patrick dedication. Ousby in Cumberland is also questionable.

THE KYMRIC CHURCH OF ST. KENTIGERN.

There are eight Kentigern churches all lying north of the River Derwent. They are generally considered to be proprietary dedications, *i.e.* dedicated to the missionary who founded them. Kentigern visited Cumbria just after the middle of the sixth century, but possibly the churches were not erected until after the battle of Ardderyd (A.D. 573), which placed Rydderch Hael, the British chief, on the throne of Strathclyde, and recalled Kentigern to his nominal diocese.‡ They may therefore possibly be older than the Bridget and Patrick dedications.

The Kentigern churches are :—

1. Irthington.
2. Grinsdale.

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* See R. S. Ferguson, *History of Cumberland*, p. 77.

† It is worth noting, however, that a well at Gleaston-in-Furness, once Sir Michael's Well (after an early le Fleming), is now St. Michael's Well.

‡ This same battle of Ardderyd is so encrusted with the usual extravagant Celtic romance that its historical value is uncertain ; but there is good reason to believe it was partly the outcome of intrigues carried on by Columba and Kentigern among the various British princelings from Dalriada or Argyle to Wales proper. See also Canon Rawnsley's *St. Kentigern and St. Herbert*, 1892, pp. 38—41, 50 and 51.

3. Caldbeck

3. Caldbeck.
4. Castle Sowerby.
5. Mungrisdale.
6. Crosthwaite.
7. Aspatria (apparantly a re-dedication of a Patrick church).
8. Bromfield.

Of these, Irthington and Grinsdale are on the Roman Wall, but not at camps. Crosthwaite is carefully removed a short distance from the presumed camp at Keswick, and the other five are distinctly non-Roman.

The two Columba dedications, Askham and Warcop, may probably be put about the same date, *i.e.* after the middle of the sixth century. Here, again, they are on Roman roads, but not at Roman camps. The same remark applies to St. Columba's Well at Kirkby Lonsdale.

THE ANGLO-SCOTTISH CHURCH OF CUTHBERT.

The numerous St. Cuthbert dedications in the diocese are not of importance to this enquiry, as it has been shewn that a number of them date from the strange journey of the dead saint's body some two centuries after this time. The territorial grants of Carlisle and Cartmel to Cuthbert were however made in 670 and 685, and there is little doubt that Carlisle is a "proprietary" dedication of the seventh century.

With the exception of a few other dedications, such as the four churches of St. Oswald, and one of St. Begha, which may be early, but are not easy to place chronologically, the dedications in the Carlisle diocese are probably later than 685, and hardly require present consideration.

Summing up, it does not appear that there is any actual evidence of Christian foundations in the diocese before the sixth century; and even in the end of it, when the Kentigern churches were founded, there is nothing to shew

shew that there was anything more than pioneer missionary work. But especially must the significant fact be noticed that all the eight Kentigern churches which probably preceded the Anglian settlements by one hundred years were placed clear of Roman camps, although three were in Roman localities. Turning to the Patrician missionaries who, not improbably, were working contemporaneously with the Angle immigration, we find that, while following the Roman roads they avoided the camp sites in five out of seven Bridget foundations. The few Patrick churches of which we may have any certainty, tell the same tale. Yet the Roman camps were the very places where we might have expected at this period to find the densest, most cultivated, and intelligent British population. Again we cannot help asking, what can this indicate but that the Roman camps were mostly abandoned, and that the Britons were either very few in number or had reverted to the uncultured and barbarous condition in which the Romans had found them ?

We have attempted to shew that with a Pagan garrison and a frontier subject to continuous bloodshed, a Roman-British Church in Cumberland was practically impossible. Any missionary who might come before 409 would have to keep clear of the Roman castra ; but there is no evidence that any ever came. Among seven churches now found in or near Roman posts there are but two which date before the end of the seventh century—that of Cuthbert at Carlisle, the history of which is clear ; and that of St. Bridget at Moresby, which probably marks the landing point of an Irish missionary in the sixth or seventh century. The fact that this camp contains a church, *but no village*, again looks as if it was in ruins. The missionary built his church because stone was in plenty, and to hallow an unholy site. But his little band of followers camped outside in wigwams, and built houses only when the land was cleared of scrub.

On

On the other hand, Kentigern looked askance at the Roman ruins in Derwent valley. If the camp had been inhabited, his church would have been there; but it was a haunted ruin, so he planted his cross a little distance away. It looks as though the Norseman who came later was a Pagan, and here preferred the haunted ruins to the proximity of the church.

It will be urged, no doubt, that so far we have persistently followed certain lines of negative archæological evidence, and purposely neglected both local Celtic evidences and local history.

But, in regard to the first, what is there beyond the Celtic Church which we have discussed? There is no series of post-Roman British relics, nor indeed of structural remains that we can identify. But there are, as a matter of fact, a fairly numerous group of place-names, generally applied to the higher fells and to other physical features; but they, of course, do not bear in any way upon the position of the post-Roman Britons in regard to the camps.

Turning to the Roman sites themselves, we find that six names only have any appearance of being Celtic in origin, and several are very doubtful—

Carlisle (Caerluel, &c.).
Caermot.
Stone Carron (the old name of Whitbarrow Camp).
Maiden Castle and Maidenhold.
Drumburgh (? Drumbog = little ridge).
Muncaster (Meolcastre ?) *

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*Carlisle (Celtic, *Caer;* Irish, *Kahir*) is clear, and shows a post- Roman Celtic occupation. Carron, found elsewhere in the Lakes, like Cairn, is Celtic, but very likely a Viking importation from Man.

"Castor," in Muncaster, introduces a whole series of difficulties. Dr. Christison has shewn that the forms "caster," "chester," and the like, are frequently in Scotland applied to small non-Roman forts; and shews good reasons that in that country these words were introduced by the Saxons, or (we may presume) the Angles. That though, in England, the Saxons applied them to towns of Roman origin, the Romans themselves did not call their towns by the name of "Castrum," nor did the Roman-Britons subsequent to the evacuation. Muncaster, therefore, as a Roman-British name is very doubtful.

And

And of these it may be noticed that Muncaster and possibly Drumburgh may be Anglian; Caermot, which involves "mote" (already discussed), is a very doubtful form, while Carron is not improbably a loan word brought by the Norse at a later date from Man. We should also observe that only one of these (Carlisle) retains an urban population on its site, and there is an old but insignificant village at the questionable example of Drumburgh.

Again, as to local history of this period what have we? There is the story of King Cunedda and his realm, who was of Roman descent and ruled from Carlisle to Wearmouth some time after the Romans left. His title of Wledig is supposed to be the Welsh equivalent of the office of Dux Brittaniarum, the general in command of the northern frontier garrison. But very little is certain.* There are the sixth century Welsh poems which have been pronounced "too vague and obscure for the purposes of history," † and there are the Arthurian legends, which are certainly no better. Besides, all that we can gather from these sources applies to general Welsh and Cumbrian history, and affords little or no purely local evidence.

There remains, however, one chronicler whose evidence, if we may trust it, is of the greatest importance to the questions we have been discussing. The Chronicle of Gildas was written about 546 A.D., or about one hundred and forty years after the Roman evacuation; and although it has been the fashion to treat his story as fabulous

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Maiden Castle, Maiden Way, and Maiden Hold (a fort near Crackenthrope), though very obscure, are almost certainly Celtic. "Den" is pretty certainly "dun," a hill or ridge, or, as in Wales, a fort. The first syllable has been the subject of innumerable suggestions and "shots," among which are Dr. Stuart's "mag," pronounced "mai," and "maes," a field or a battle. The word crops up again in the camp Mawbray or Mawburgh, where it is associated with a later non-Celtic word. And also in the parrallel form of Mayborough, the great ring of cobbles near Penrith, and Maeshowe in Orkney.

* See Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, 102, 116, 117, and 135.

† Elton, *Origins of English History*, 361.

romance

romance, it has been shown by Skene that, read aright, it corroborates completely the evidence of Greek and Roman authorities, while it adds immeasurably to the detailed information of the events of the period on the northern frontier.*

The story of Gildas, where we take it up, is the story of the Roman Wall from A.D. 383, in which year Maximus was proclaimed Emperor, and, having repressed the Picts and Scots, led away the garrison of Britain and "the flower of her youth" to Italy.† This was in 387.

Gildas, in chapters 15 to 19, describes in melodramatic detail the tragic events which followed. No sooner had the garrison departed, than Britain, "utterly ignorant as she was of the art of war, groaned in amazement for many years under the cruelty of two foreign nations—the Scots from the north-west, the Picts from the north-east."

This was the incursion of 396 A.D. Gildas tells us how the Britons sent an embassy to Rome with a piteous message asking for help. He describes how a legion, which we know from other sources was under Stilicho, was dispatched, and how the enemy were dispersed with great slaughter. The Britons then built a wall under the tuition of the Romans, "which being of turf instead of stone was no use to that foolish people who had no head to guide them."‡

The legion was then withrawn (A.D. 402), and at once this action was followed by the return of the enemy "like ravening wolves rushing with greedy jaws upon the fold which is left without a shepherd."

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*Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, I, 112-113.

†This was not, of course, the first appearance of the Picts and Scots. They gave great trouble during the reigns of the heirs of Constantine the Great, (337-350). Constans and Constantius are both said to have dispatched expeditions against them, but without any permanent result. More incursions followed in the time of Jovian (363—4), and in 368—9 they penetrated to the south coast, threatened London, and were driven back by Valentinian's general, Theodosius, who cleared the country between the walls, which then received the name of Valentia.

‡Supposed to be the Clyde-Forth wall.

Gildas describes the "strength of the oarsmen," shewing that some, at any rate, came by sea, and how they broke the boundaries and overran the whole country.

Again the Britains sent an embassy "with their garments rent, and their heads covered with ashes—like timorous chickens, crowding under the wings of their parents"; to which the Romans responded by sending "their unexpected bands of cavalry by land and mariners by sea," who again drove the enemy beyond the sea. This was the return of Stilicho in 405 with the full British army of three legions. Gildas then describes the final evacuation of the Romans (407), telling the Britons, among much other good advice, "that they should not suffer their hands to be tied behind their backs by a nation, which, unless they were enervated by idleness and sloth, was not more powerful than themselves." Patterns of arms were left with the "miserable natives," with whose help, and by subscriptions, another wall of ordinary construction was erected.*

Chapter 19 of Gildas is a vivid and picturesque account of the horrors that followed. The Picts and Scots, coming forth like "worms from their holes," land from their canoes which have transported them over the Cichican Valley.† He tells us how they fell upon the garrison, equally slow to fight and ill adapted to run away—"a panic-struck company,"—and dragged them with hooks from the wall; how they dispersed, abandoning both the cities and the wall itself, and how the enemy pursued and butchered them like sheep; and lastly how, driven by despair and want, they turned upon and massacred each other.‡

* The Solway-Tyne wall. "Erected" should no doubt read "repaired."

† Query: the Irish Sea or the Solway?

‡ The reader must refer to Skene for the excellent tabulation of Gildas and other authorities, which shews exactly how they tally. It leaves only one difficulty. Chapter 19 of Gildas, as we see above, describes the Pictish raids of 407 A.D. Chapter 20 immediately proceeds with the notorious message of shame, "the groans of the Britons," which was sent in the third Consulate of Aetius in

There

There are many different suggestions as to the routes by which the enemy entered Britain. Gildas, as we have seen, more than once alludes to their arrival by water, and it may be accepted that they came both from Ireland and Scotland, landing on the West Cumbrian coast, and also crossing the Solway fords and the Wall itself. There is no evidence that the Roman ports mentioned at the beginning of this paper were maintained by the Romanized Britons, or even by the Anglians. No doubt the Irish contingent destroyed them, or, speaking more correctly, the camps protecting them, at the first onslaught after the Roman garrison had gone. The Anglians had no trade on this side of the country to necessitate reopening them.* Those invaders who came over the Solway may have occupied and maintained the camps at Bowness and Burgh to secure the Solway fords, and this may account for the continuity of population at these sites.

It was long the fashion to reject the Chronicle of Gildas as totally fanciful; apparently more because of the shame it casts on the name of Briton than for any sufficient reason. But Bede the venerable accepted it, and embodied the main points of the narrative; and it has remained for the author of *Celtic Scotland* in our day to replace it upon our shelves as a work which may not be neglected in the study of this obscure period.

The evidence of the sites and names we have gathered in this paper corroborates, we think, in a great measure, the story of Gildas. Luxury, effeminacy, cowardice, and

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446 A.D. Mr. Skene shews that this chapter, or perhaps the message only, is misplaced, and refers to the Saxon raids (which according to Nennius, had begun in 374 A.D.) and not to the Pictish troubles at all. (See Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, vol. I, 104-7, 113, 145. 152.) Chapters 20-25 of Gildas are also of great interest, though they have not so much local bearing. Chapter 21 is a fearful indictment of the British character and the falseness and vice, both in the Church and laity, in the fifth century. Chapter 24 is important as describing an early Anglian raid across the country, till the western sea was reached, and a city, apparently in Cumbria, sacked and destroyed.

* Wright, in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon* (1861, p. 392) adduces archæological evidence that camps in Cumberland, Lancashire, and Wales were thus destroyed.

disease

disease were no doubt the miserable heritage which the Romans left at their camps and towns. A race so degenerate had no chance with the hordes of wild, hard northern barbarians. They swarmed in over the Wall and over the Irish Sea, and the wretched Britons were almost exterminated. When the missionaries came—when the Angles came, it was a howling wilderness. Roman power had gone; British pluck had proved a will o' th' wisp; and such Britons as survived, cowered in the forests and bogs, or fled to inaccessible glens and moors as the newcomers appeared.* But that they survived as a race in our part of Cumbria with any culture, number, or organization, for any length of time after 409, all the evidence which is available seems to give little warrant for believing. No doubt one of the strongest arguments which can be brought in favour of a united and organized community in these parts in post-Roman times is the slow advance of the Anglians to the west and the length of time before they settled the plains. But in 573, or a hundred years before this date, the battle of Ardderyd removed the seat of Cumbrian power from Carlisle to Dumbarton; yet the Angles did not settle the land, rather, we would suggest, on account of the rugged and inhospitable character of the country, than because any serious opposition was encountered or apprehended.

The blessing of civilization we often hear of; but the contact between civilization and barbarism is not always a boon. The ultimate effect of it in the Cumbrian Celt was the same which we may see to-day among the copper-coloured Americans (Indians) or the Aborigines of Australia. It requires either a very vigorous race like the negro, or a magnificent faith like that of the Moslem, to pass unscathed the ordeal.

*Skene (*Celtic Scotland*, p. 120, vol. I) points out that the Roman rule "did not leave . . . . a provincial people speaking the Roman language and preserving their laws and customs," and that though in the south the effects were deep and lasting, the Britons in the north and west "were more in the position of native tribes under a foreign rule," and that withdrawal in these parts meant a reversion to their primitive methods.

ART. III.—*The Flookburgh Charter and "Regalia."* By H. S. COWPER, F.S.A.

Communicated at Keswick, June 29th, 1899.

IN Stockdale's Annals of Cartmel, which was published in 1872, there are mentioned the charter of the small but ancient town of Flookburgh, in the parish of Cartmel, and certain relics which that writer considered part of the "regalia"*. All these curiosities are still preserved by the same owners as in Stockdale's time, and they are, I think, worth a rather more detailed description in our pages.

The charter, which is of the reign of Charles II, is the property of Miss Helme of Flookburgh. It is preserved in a case, (apparently the original one), and the great seal, fairly complete, is still attached. The big initial C at the commencement, encloses an engraved portrait of the King, and the top and side margins are elaborately ornamented in colours. This decoration is floral and heraldic, the latter devices including the lion and unicorn, the Royal arms, and shields with the fleurs-de-lis, crossed sceptres, the Scottish lion, and the harp.

We subjoin here a translation from the Latin :—

TRANSLATION.

CHARLES THE SECOND, by the Grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, and so forth. To all to whom these present letters shall come, Greeting. We have examined the enrollment of a certain Charter of our Ancestor Lord Henry the Fourth, formerly King of England, made and granted to his very dear Son Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, (granted) in Letters Patent in the Thirteenth year of the reign of the same lately King, enrolled and deposited amongst the records of our

* *Annals of Cartmel*, pp. 14, 121.

Chancery

Chancery, situate in our Tower of London in these words:—"The King to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earls, Barons, Justices, Sheriffs, Mayors, (or Constables), Ministers, and all Bayliffs, and to his faithful Subjects, Greeting. Know ye that we have granted and by this our Charter have confirmed to our very dear Son Thomas of Lancaster, Duke of Clarence, that he and his heirs for ever may hold a Market every week on Tuesday in his Manor at Flookburgh in the County of Lancaster, and a fair at the same place every year for three days' duration, namely, on the eve and on the day and on the morrow of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and that they may hold another Fair at the same place every year for Three days' duration, namely, on the Eve and on the day and on the morrow of St. Michael the Archangel, to hold the same annually with all issues, tolls, and amerciaments belonging to Markets and Fairs of that description, and also with all and all kinds of other profits, commodities, and emoluments belonging to Markets and Fairs of that sort, or in any way appertaining, unless this Market and these Fairs should be to the detriment of neighbouring Markets and neighbouring Fairs. Wherefore we will and firmly declare for ourselves and our heirs that the aforesaid Thomas and his heirs for ever may have and hold the aforesaid Market and the aforesaid two Fairs in his Manor aforesaid, with all liberties and free customs pertaining to a Market and to Fairs of that description, unless this Market and these Fairs should be to the detriment of neighbouring Markets and neighbouring Fairs as is aforesaid. These are witnesses, the Venerable Fathers Thomas of Canterbury, Primate of all England, our Chancellor, Henry of York, Primate of England, Archbishops; Thomas of Durham, Nicholas of Bath and Wells, Bishops; William of Roos de Hamelak, Henry de Beaumont, our cousin; John Pelham, Knight; Richard Gray de Codenoye, our Chamberlaine; John de Stanley Seneschall of our Household; John Prophete, Keeper of our Privy Seal, and others. Given under our hand at Westminster, the Nineteenth day of July, by the King himself. But we have directed that the tenor of the aforesaid Charter and of the rest of the premises with everything thereunto pertaining should, at the requisition of John Girlington, Gentlemen, be exemplified by these presents. In testimony whereof we have caused these our Letters patent to be made, I myself being witness at Westminster, on the Eighth day of December, in the Fifteenth year of our Reign.

Seal.

Examined by us { MO. BRAMSTON and THOS. ESTCOURT } Clerks.

This charter tells its own tale and requires no comment. It should however be noted, that, the Priory of Cartmel had an earlier charter for a market at Flookburgh in the time of Edward I. This is mentioned by Stockdale, who also tells us—

> The market cross and fish stones, as every passer by must have observed, have fallen down, and now lie scattered about on the ground where once the markets and fairs were held.

It was perhaps this passage which led to the erection of a modern cross with this inscription :—

> First Charter granted to Flookburgh, by Edward I, A.D. 1278. Second Charter by Henry IV, A.D. 1412. Charter confirmed by Charles II, A.D. 1675. Erected A.D. 1882, on the site of an ancient cross.*

The objects described as portion of the "regalia" are three in number: firstly, a sword, called by Stockdale a "Sword of Office"; secondly, an official staff with an iron head; and thirdly, the iron head only of a curious halberd, if it can properly so be called.

1. The sword is certainly not in origin a civic or official weapon. It is a straight broad bladed arm, measuring from the pommel to the point forty inches, and possibly it may at one time have been an inch longer. The blade itself is one and a half inches wide at the widest part, and has two grooves on each side. In each of these grooves is the inscription :—

* HOVN * MEFACIT * †

and there is also on each side of the blade close to the tang, a small armourer's mark

The hilt of this weapon is a fine example of a well

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* It should be noticed that Stockdale (p. 14) gives the erroneous date of 1659, to the Charter of Charles.

† Chancellor Ferguson tells me that he can find HORN and MOVN in armourers lists but not HOVN.

marked

marked type. It has a heavy globular pommel, straight quillons, and curved bow or counterguard joining the pommel to the pas d'âne, or curved bars in advance of the quillons. The guards, quillons, &c., are all somewhat flat or ribbon shaped, in section : and the length from the pommel to the quillons is six inches.

The decoration of the hilt consists of a rich silver inlay of fruit, flowers, &c., which covers the metal of the pommel, counterguard, quillons, and pas d'âne. The only thing in the motive which is not floral, is a cherubic body and head, which appears on that part of the cross guard which receives the tang. Part of the wooden grip still remains.

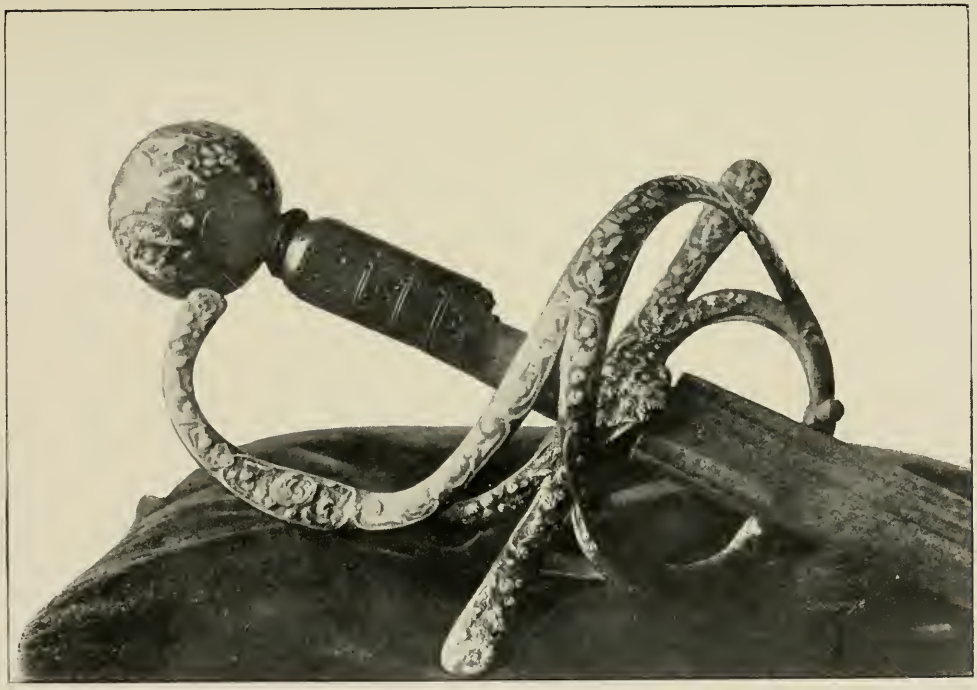
The style of inlay, the heavy pommel and ribbon like section of the guard, place this hilt in a group considered by authorities on the " white arm," as English work of the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. The blade, as in other similar examples, is probably German. Indeed it is quite possible that the hilt itself was forged at one place, and the inlay applied elsewhere by another craftsman.*

2. The first official staff (of which the head is shewn in the drawing) is with the shaft nine feet in length, and the iron head alone fifteen and three-eighths inches in length. The latter is simply a blade of flat iron cut to represent a flook or flounder, tail uppermost. The letters F.B. are the town's initials.

3. The halberd, for I can find no other name, is shaftless. This curious object simply represents a spear or javelin, crossed by a rudely shaped arrow, in the point of which a heart is cut. There is a rivet between the feathers, to which was probably attached a small piece of iron, to represent the notched end of the arrow shaft,

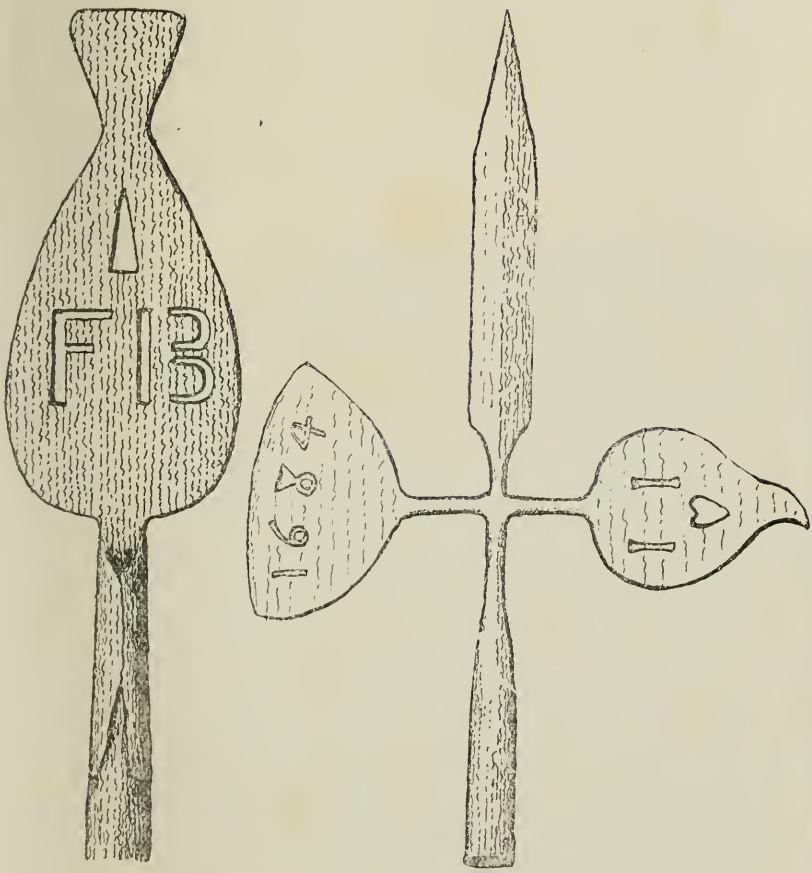
* See proceedings of the Soc. Antiq. Lond., 2nd S. XII, 107, for an exhibition of swords of this period, by J. G. Waller, F.S.A., and also for notes by the Baron de Cosson. Also Egerton Castle's " Schools and Masters of Fence." Fig XII.

and



THE FLOOKBURGH SWORD.

PLATE I. (TO FACE P. 44.)



"FLOOK" STAFF AT FLOOKBURGH AND HALBERD FROM AMBLESIDE.

PLATE II.

and in the socket there is a nail hole to secure the head to the shaft. The length from socket to spear point is eighteen inches, and the arrow is eleven and a half inches long. I can suggest no reasonable explanation of the meaning of the arrow: for it can hardly be a play on the last syllable of the name of the town, which is pronounced nearly Flookbarrow.

I imagine that both of these objects were probably used in a similar manner to the halberd at Hawkshead, which I have described elsewhere:* that is, as wands of office carried by the stewards of the market, and possibly also by the churchwardens. Such relics are, I believe, commoner than is thought. Alongside the "Flook" staff, I give a sketch (not to scale) of one from Ambleside, which is now in Kendal Museum; and I have seen a similar example inscribed "Pennington."

In the absence of evidence I dare not theorize on the history and use of the sword.

Mr. William Atkinson, of Whitwell Cottage, Flookburgh, who is the owner of the sword and staves, possessed also, at one time, a standard peck measure and scales, by tradition, and probably in reality, used in the market.

In conclusion, I must thank both Miss Helme, Mr. Atkinson, and his neice, Miss Mary E. Atkinson, for most kindly affording me every facility for carefully examining the objects I have described. It is pleasant to record that the interest of both the charter and "regalia" are thoroughly appreciated by their owners, and they are thus most carefully preserved and cared for in the town where they have so much local value.

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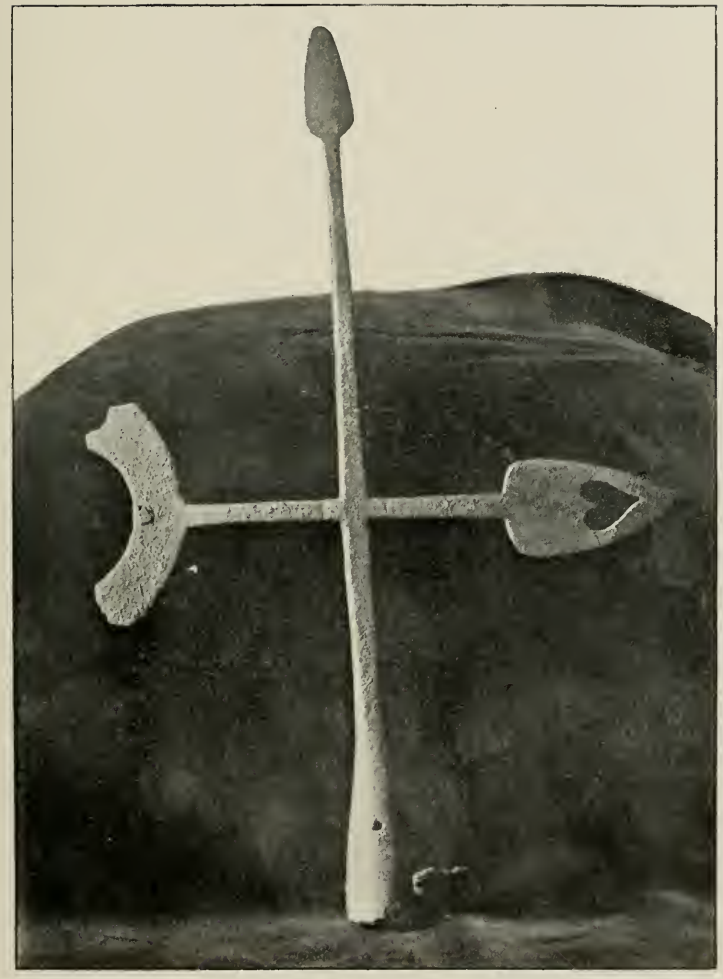
*These *Transactions*, XV., 277. The Hawkshead halberd is gilt, and Stockdale says, these examples from Flookburgh had been painted vermilion, and perhaps gilt, but I cannot find any traces of this treatment left.



HALBERD OF UNUSUAL FORM, FLOOKBURGH.

PLATE III. (TO FACE P. 46.)

EXCURSIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, JUNE 29TH AND 30TH, 1899.

The annual meeting and first two days' excursion of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society for 1899, was held on Thursday and Friday, June 29th and 30th, the head-quarters being the Keswick Hotel, Keswick. Owing to the peculiarities of the train service, a start could not be made until four o'clock in the afternoon, when the party took carriages to the Keswick Stone Circle,* which was described by the President of the Society, Chancellor Ferguson. Crosthwaite Church was the next halting place, and here Canon Rawnsley, the poet vicar, gave a charming account of the history of his fine church: most of it was taken from his tract, entitled "St. Kentigern of Crosthwaite, and St. Herbert of Derwentwater."† On the suggestion of the Canon, a visit was paid to the Keswick Museum in its new home in the Park. Here is the celebrated Flintoff model of the Lake District, and a small, but most interesting collection of objects connected with the locality. The Keswick Hotel was reached in time for dinner at 7 o'clock, after which the annual meeting was held. The officers were re-elected with the addition to the list of vice-presidents of H. F. Pelham, F.S.A., President Trinity College, Oxford, F. Haverfield, F.S.A., and His Honour Judge Steavenson. The Rev. F. L. H. Millard was elected to fill the vacancy on the Council caused by the lamented death of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, so that the list of officials now stands as follows :—

Patrons :—The Right Hon. The Lord Muncaster, F.S.A,, Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland; The Right Hon. The Lord Hothfield, Lord Lieutenant of Westmorland.

President and Editor :—The Worshipful Chancellor Ferguson, M.A., LL.M., F.S.A.

Vice-Presidents :—The Right Rev. The Bishop of Barrow-in-Furness; The Right Rev. The Lord Bishop of Carlisle; The Very

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* For this stone circle, see these *Transactions*, vol. I., p. 218, vol. III., p. 247, vol. V., p. 50 (plan).

† Carlisle: Chas. Thurnam & Sons. London: George Bell & Sons. No date on title page, but preface dated 1888.

Rev.

Rev. The Dean of Carlisle; The Earl of Carlisle; James Cropper, Esq.; H. F. Curwen, Esq.; John Fell, Esq., Flan How; C. J. Ferguson, Esq., F.S.A.; F. Haverfield, Esq., F.S.A.; Hon. W. Lowther; H. F. Pelham, Esq., F.S.A., President Trinity College, Oxford; Ven. Archdeacon Prescott, D.D.; W. O. Roper, Esq., F.S.A.; H. P. Senhouse, Esq.; His Honour Judge Steavenson.

Elected Members of Council:—Rev. Canon Bower, M.A., Carlisle; H. Barnes, Esq., M.D., LL.D., Carlisle; H. S. Cowper, Esq., F.S.A., Hawkshead; J. F. Haswell, Esq., M.D., Penrith; T. H. Hodgson, Esq., Newby Grange; Rev. F. L. H. Millard, M.A., Aspatria; E. T. Tyson, Esq., Woodhall; George Watson, Esq., Penrith; Rev. James Wilson, M.A., Dalston; Colonel Sewell, Brandlingill; W. G. Collingwood, Esq., M.A., Coniston; Joseph Swainson, Esq., Stonecross.

Auditors:—James G. Gandy, Esq., Heaves; R. H. Greenwood, Esq., Bankfield.

Treasurer:—W. D. Crewdson, Esq., Helme Lodge, Kendal.

Financial Secretary:—T. Wilson, Esq., Aynam Lodge, Kendal.

Corresponding Secretary:—J. F. Curwen, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., Horncop Hall, Kendal.

The following new members were elected:—Rev. A. S. Bannatyne, Renwick; Mr. John Clark, Broughton-in-Furness; Mr. E. L. Nanson, Hensingham, Whitehaven; Mr. E. C. Parker, Aglionby Street, Carlisle; Rev. H. D. Ford, Ellislea, Dalton; Mr. F. W. Chance, Morton, Carlisle; Mrs. Chance, Morton, Carlisle; Miss Thompson, Park End, Workington.

The following papers were submitted to the Society, but owing to the lateness of the hour the first two were taken as read, and the fourth was adjourned in order that further photographs might be obtained:—

Post Roman Cumbria. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.*
More Local Chap Books. The President.
The Foss. W. G. Collingwood, M.A.
Lost and Re-found Roman Altars. J. B. Bailey.
Pitch Pipes and Mason's Marks. The Rev. W. S. Sykes.
The Flookburgh Regalia. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A.
Recollections of Crosthwaite. George Watson.

Friday, June 30th, 1899.

A start was effected at nine o'clock, and the first halt was made at Orthwaite Hall, near the residence of William George Browne,

* Printed in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. lvi., pp. 28-50.

known

known as the traveller.* The Brownes acquired Orthwaite or Allerthwaite Hall from the Richmonds of Highhead Castle, and over a stable door are the arms of Richmond impaling those of Hudleston, with "C.R. 1675" over it. Christopher Richmond of Highhead Castle succeeded his father in 1642, and married as second wife Magdalen Huddleston. The stone, on which are these arms, is not in its original position. The hall itself has been entirely modernised, except the seventeenth century facade.

A visit was next paid to the camp at Overwater, which lies near the lake, between Orthwaite Hall and Whitefield House. The camp,† is clearly defined by trenches with the earth thrown up on each side, and has a mound in one corner. Chancellor Ferguson defined it has having been the homestead of a Saxon or Danish Thane or Franklin, who lived in a wooden house or hall on the mound in the corner, while the rest of the camp or outer bailey was occupied by his slaves and cattle. The house would be protected by palisades and approached only by a drawbridge, which would be drawn up at night. The lord in fact lived much like a Boer patriarch, who has to fortify against his slaves.

At Snittlegarth, which was next visited, is a very singular earthwork.‡ On a plateau on a hill, well sheltered on three sides by rising ground, a rectangular area, eighty-eight feet by thirty-one feet has been isolated by trench with regular scarp and counter-scarp. This trench is twelve feet broad at bottom, twenty-three feet at top, and the scarp and counter-scarp each nine feet, while the depth is five feet. The Chancellor expressed his opinion that this earthwork was the remains of a homestead similar to that at Overwater, of which only the site of the lord's house remained, all traces of the mounds and trenches of the outer baily having been obliterated by repeated ploughings.

The camps on Caermot were next visited, the party climbing up to the smaller camp on the northern peak of Caermot. It seems to be pre-Roman, but was probably used by them as a look-out station. A rough scramble brought the party down to the larger camp, or rather camps, for the Romans finding their first camp too large, made a smaller one in the north-west angle of it. §

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* Author of *Travels in Africa, Egypt, and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798*, by W. G. Browne, London. Published for T. Cadell, junior; and W. Davies, Strand; and T. N. Longman, and G. Rees, 1799. Quarto. For an account of him, see these *Transactions*, vol. VI., p. 355.

† For Overwater Camp, see these *Transactions*, vol. VI., p. 511. It has been considered Roman.

‡ For this earthwork, see these *Transactions*, vol. VI., pp. 193-511. Very different opinions have been expressed about it.

§ For the Caermot camps, see these *Transactions*, vol. III., p. 43; vol. VI., pp. 191-193, where plans are given, and p. 511.

After

After leaving Caermot the party drove along the main road by Torpenhow and Bewaldeth, and thence by Castle Inn and Ouse Bridge to the Pheasant Inn at Peil Wyke, where the party broke up, without visiting the earthworks at Castle How.

The following members, &c., joined the excursion for one or both days:—The President, Chancellor Ferguson; Mr. R. D. Marshall and party, Castle Rigg Manor; Canon Rawnsley, Mr. J. J. Spedding and Party, Greta Bank; Mr. E. T. Tyson, Woodhall; Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Mr. George Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Kighley Hough, Mr. J. P. Watson, Garth Marr; Mr. W. Wilson, Keswick Hotel; Mr. T. Wilson, and Mr. J. F. Curwen, (hon. secs.). and Mrs. Curwen; Rev. W. R. and Mrs. Hopper; Rev. — Wilson and Miss Walker, Whitehaven; Mr. and Mrs. Lonsdale and Mrs. Thorpe; Rev. R. V. Nanson and Miss Nanson; Rev. R. S. G. Green and Miss Green, Croglin; Rev. C. W. G. Hodgson, Dissington; Rev. H. E. and Mrs. Campbell and Miss Thompson, Workington; Mr. and Mrs. Peter Thompson, Keswick; Miss Gough and friends, Whitefield; Mr. Robinson, Middlesboro'.

Thursday and Friday, August 24th and 25th, 1899.

The second meeting of the year of this Society commenced on Thursday, August 24th, at Workington, in most glorious weather. About forty or fifty members and their friends were present, including the President (Chancellor Ferguson), Colonel and Mrs. Sewell and the Misses Sewell, Brandlingill; Dr. and Mrs. Highet, Workington; Mr. T. C. Garstang, Workington; Mr. W. L. Fletcher, Workington; Mr. J. I. Sealby, Braithwaite; the Misses Quirk, Workington; Mrs. and Miss Fletcher, Stoneleigh, Workington; Mrs. and Miss Thompson, Park End, Workington; the Misses Curwen, Harrington Rectory; Mr. J. F. Curwen, Kendal (hon. sec.); Mr. E. T. Tyson, Wood Hall; Mr. and Miss Nicholson, Manchester; Mr. J. Greenop, Mr. H. B. Greenop, and Miss Greenop, Workington; Mr. and Mrs. Cartmell, Carlisle; Mr. T. Cary, Maryport; Mr. T. H. Hodgson, Newby Grange; the Rev. W. R. Hopper, Kirkbride; Mr. Haverfield, F.S.A., Oxford; Mr. Booker, F.S.A., Eton; Mr. Riley, London; Mr. Gunson, Ulpha; the Rev. L. F. H. Millard; the Rev. R. S. G. Green; Mr. Blair, F.S.A.; Miss H. Donald, Carlisle; Dr. Barnes, Carlisle; Miss Hind, Carlisle; Mrs. Nanson, Appleby; Mr. and Mrs. Williams, Grange; Mrs. and Mrs. Micklem, London; Miss James, Barrow; Edw. Curwen, jun., Plumbland; Mr. Parker, Penrith; Miss Gough and friend, Whitefield; Miss Walker and friend, Whitehaven; Dr. Robt. Hellon, Whitehaven.

The

The first place that was visited was—

Burrow Walls and the Roman Camp.

Arrived at their destination, the party assembled in the shade of the principal ruin, where they were addressed by the president, Chancellor Ferguson, who said this was the first time this Society had visited Burrow Walls. About twenty-five years ago a similar society—he did not know its name—came here. The members left the gates open, and a lot of mischief was done, and when this Society asked, shortly afterwards, for permission to pay a visit, it was refused. This Society, however, had had on this occasion a most courteous reply from the tenant, Mr. Jenkinson, which led to their presence to-day. With regard to the ruins, next to nothing was really known about them. In the early part of the century, Horsley said he could see nothing Roman about them, and he found neither Roman coins nor stones. In 1852 the tenant of Seaton Mill Farm, whilst engaged in drainage work, discovered five Roman altars, some Roman coins, and some Roman pottery. It became evident that it was a Roman station. One of these altars was now at Lowther Castle. There was an inscription upon it, but no one had been able to make any sense of it. There was a figure of Hercules on one side of the altar, and that of a woman on the other. He did not know what had become of the remaining four altars. The outlines of the place seemed to show a rectangular Roman camp. The angles were marked to-day by flags, so that they could see for themselves the dimensions of the supposed camp. Useful work could be done by digging a trench or two in order to ascertain if it had been a camp with stone walls. Outside of this supposed camp are the remains of two huge walls at right angles to another. Those who examined these walls would observe that the facing stones had been carried away. The late Dr. Douglas once delivered a lecture on these ruins, and he (the Chancellor) had preserved a newspaper cutting, from which it appears that sixty years anterior to the lecture the walls were both longer and higher, and there were windows in them of Norman character, and also a small circular staircase. The tenants used the walls as a quarry until Dr. Douglas and the late Mr. Henry Fletcher, Stoneleigh, wrote to the authorities at Whitehaven Castle, who put a stop to these acts of vandalism. He believed these walls were the remains of a Norman Keep built in the twelfth century by Orme, the son of Ketel, an early Norman Settler, and ancestor of the ancient family of Curwen. The family resided at Burrow Walls until Patrick, the

the son of Thomas, the son of another Thomas, the son of Gospatrick, the son of Orme, moved to Workington, when Burrow Walls became a ruin, and a ready quarry for the builder. The main point to notice about Burrow Walls is that though the builder, that is the man who ordered Burrow Walls to be built, was a Norman, and though the plan is Norman, yet the work has not been carried out in the Norman manner, but in the Roman. The heart or interior of the walls is of concrete. The men who did the work were natives, who had inherited the traditions of Roman building.

St. Michael Mount.

From Burrow Walls the Society proceeded to St. Michael's Mount, an eminence on the sea shore overlooking the town and commanding a glorious view of the Solway. On the journey the New Yard, the Moss Bay, and Cammell's works were passed, and the visitors from a distance noticed with interest the rolling of the molten bars in the New Yard works. Of the tower on St. Michael's Mount, or How Michael [which has the same meaning], it has been suggested that it possibly was a pharos or light-house, or sea mark built by the Romans, but, although the Romans did build such places, the Chancllor did not think the tower on St. Michael's Mount dated earlier than Burrow Walls. It is a typical instance of a small border pele, as described by Dr. Taylor in his valuable work on *The Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland*, chapter IV. It certainly has been, and is, a sea mark, and is even now whitewashed every year to make it more conspicuous. It is believed to have carried one of the beacons, by which, in the fifteenth century, the approach of an enemy was flashed throughout Cumberland. It has been suggested that it is the chapel dedicated to St. Michael, the patron saint of sailors, which stood in this vicinity. It may have been the chapel priest's residence, but not a chapel; there is nothing chapel-like about it. In the beginning of this century the building was roofless and without an upper floor; but it was repaired by John Christian Curwen, M.P. It is now the depôt of the Workington Artillery. Its dimensions at the ground line are 23 ft. 6 ins. by 17 ft.

A brief visit was paid to the parish church of Michael's. This church, the Chancellor said, was a most marvellous instance of transformation. It was originally a Georgian church, but after being, a few years age, unroofed and gutted by fire, was transformed into a Gothic one.

WORKINGTON HALL.

The last place to be visited was Workington Hall. In the regretted absence of the squire, the party were received by his son, Mr. Alan Curwen, and by other members of the family, and some much-welcomed tea and coffee was handed round. Mr. J. F. Curwen then read a paper on the Hall, which is printed in this volume of *Transactions*, and the visitors were afterwards taken round the Hall by various members of the family. At seven o'clock the party took train for Cockermouth, and after dinner at the Globe Hotel, the following members were elected: G. Murray Wilson, Esq., Dale End, Grasmere; John Highet, Esq., M.D., Allonby House, Workington; T. H. D. Graham, Esq., Edmond Castle, Carlisle; Capt. F. Fetherstonhaugh, Seaforth Highlanders, Ardersier Cottage, Ardersier, Inverness, N.B.; R. P. L. Booker, Esq., F.S.A., Eton Cottage, Windsor; W. H. Bell, Esq., Cleeve House, Seend, Melksham, Wilts.; Sir Gerald Strickland, Sizergh Castle, Kendal; Miss Quirk, Miss Emily G. Quirk, Highcote, Workington; Eldred Vincent Curwen, Withdeane Court, Brighton; Dr. Jas. Graham, Mrs. Jas. Graham, Castle Gate House, Cockermouth.

The President read the following communication from one of the members, Mr. John S. Parkin, 9, Lincolns Inn, on "The Boundary between the Old Dioceses of Chester and Carlisle."

"When the Society is at Workington I should like attention to be called to the boundary between the old ecclesiastical dioceses of Chester and Carlisle. If you look at the map at the commencement of your recent book * on the Diocese of Carlisle you will notice that the boundary of the old diocese runs down the river Derwent, until it nearly reaches Workington, when it turns north and throws either the township of Seaton or the whole parish of Camerton into the Diocese of Chester. There seems to be no reason ecclesiastically for the boundary leaving the river Derwent in this manner, and when I was acting as counsel in the Workington Harbour case, I went carefully into the early history of this part of the river, and could find no reason arising out of the civil ownership for this peculiarity in the boundary line. Your map, however, follows exactly the map in the Valor Ecclesiasticus, or King's Book, and it seems to me that the whole thing is a mistake of the framers of the map in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. In the book itself there is no mention of the township of Seaton, or of the parish of Camerton, as being in the Diocese of Chester; but there is, of course, a reference to the Nunnery of Seaton; whilst on the map of the Diocese of Chester the Nunnery of Seaton is not marked. It appears to me probable that the maker of the map, seeing the township of Seaton marked on some map before him, concluded that this was the site of the Nunnery of Seaton, to which reference was made in the draft of the King's Book, which would also have been before him, and consequently he drew his boundary line so as to include the township of

* *Diocesan Histories*, Carlisle. London: S.P.C.K., 1889.

Seaton

Seaton in the Diocese of Chester. I am, however, always doubtful about accusing the experts of past times of not knowing their business, and therefore I shall be glad to learn if any of the members of the Society present at the meeting have any other solution to give. I am away from London, and am therefore unable to refer to any original documents and to my notes which I made some ten or twelve years ago."

Chancellor Ferguson said there could be no doubt that Mr. Parkin's conjecture was correct, viz.—that the framer of the map in the Valor Ecclesiasticus had taken the Nunnery of Seaton, which undoubtedly was at Leckley, in the parish of Bootle, and in the Diocese of Chester, to be in the township of Seaton, north of the Derwent, and so transferred that township from the Diocese of Carlisle, to the Diocese of Chester. Bishop Percy undoubtedly exercised jurisdiction in in the township of Seaton, before any part of the Diocese of Chester was transferred to Carlisle.

Mr. F. H. M. Parker read a paper upon "the Parkers of Old Town; the Branthwaites of Orton, and the Birkbecks of Orton Hall," which appears in this volume of *Transactions*.

Friday August 25th.

A start was made from the Globe Hotel, Cockermouth, shortly before 10 a.m., in well-appointed wagonettes, the party numbering and including about the same as on the previous day. A pleasant drive brought the party to Bridekirk church where they were met by the vicar (the Rev. Alfred Sutton) who described the building and objects of interest connected therewith. The ivy-covered chancel, all that remains of the former Norman church, was first considered. Here are to be seen several mediæval gravestones which the vicar has collected. Some of them were found buried five or six feet deep, while others were close to the surface. One of them, now doing duty as a window lintel, bears a coat of arms, which has not hitherto been recognised. Another has upon it the representation of the coulter of a plough. It had been expected that Mr. W. G. Collingwood would attend to describe the celebrated font, and his unexplained absence was much regretted.* Isel Hall was next visited, and here the President read Dr. Taylor's account of the Hall.† A halt was made at Isel church, but as the key was not forthcoming, the journey was then taken, by way of the Derwent Valley and Dunthwaite to the earthworks at Castle How, Peil Wyke, which were described by Mr. T. H. Hodgson as probably prehistoric.‡

* It transpired afterwards that he had never received the circular giving notice of the date of the meeting.

† *Old Manorial Halls of Westmorland and Cumberland*, p. 327.

‡ See these *Transactions*, vol. iii., p. 243; vol. iv., p. 76; vol. vi., p. 510.

On

On account of the threatening weather part of the members returned direct from Bassenthwaite to Cockermouth, while the more ardent spirits adhered to the programme and visited Huthwaite Hall, now a farmhouse, but at one time the residence of the Swinburnes. Mr. Edwin Jackson made some interesting observations on the Swinburnes, who were a family of some importance.

Young John Swinburne was evidently well known in Cockermouth, for it is recorded as one of the incidents of the Pilgrimage of Grace in Aske's rebellion in 1537 that when a man was arrested in the Market Place of Cockermouth on suspicion of being a spy and the bearer of letters from the king he was rescued by young Swinburne. Some of the populace cried out, "Strike off his head," others, "Stick him." His life, however, was spared for that day by young John, who promised to bring him up the next Monday to be tried in open market by 24 men. The Pilgrimage of Grace ended badly for the people of Cockermouth, for Sir Thomas Wharton, writing from Cockermouth Castle, on March 12th, 1537, speaks of the executions levied on the goods of those who were in rebellion, and of the execution of some dozen men from Cockermouth and district, who were hung in chains for participating in the revolt.

On arriving at Cockermouth Castle, the members of the society grouped themselves round Mr. E. T. Tyson, who very lucidly and minutely explained the archæological features of the castle, basing his account upon that written by "Castles" Clark in his *Mediæval Military Architecture*. After that the visitors availed themselves of Mr. Tyson's kind invitation to enjoy his hospitality at Wood Hall, and spent a pleasant hour there in enjoyment of the interesting views to be obtained of the lake hills from his beautiful park and gardens.

ART. IV.—*On some additions to the Collection of Chap-Books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana in Tullie House.** By the PRESIDENT, CHANCELLOR FERGUSON, F.SA.

Communicated at Keswick, June 29, 1899.

THESE additions to the collection of Chap-Books in the Bibliotheca Jacksoniana were purchased for £10. C. signifies that a chap-book was printed in Carlisle; W., Whitehaven; P., Penrith; M., Miscellaneous; N.P., no place of printing stated. See the previous paper.

(17) C.

"JERUSALEM'S CAPTIVITIES LAMENTED
OR A
PLAIN DESCRIPTION
OF
JERUSALEM.
From Joshua's time to the year 1517, both from Scripture and Ancient history.

I. The antiquity of the City and Number of Inhabitants, with the depth and breadth of the Trenches, height of the Walls, and the number of the Towers that stood thereon.

II. The greatness of the people, and glory of the Sanctum Sanctorum, or the Holy of Holies: with a Description of the Birth, Life and Death of our Blessed Saviour, and miraculous wonders that happened about that Time.

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* For the previous paper on this Collection of Chap-Books see these *Transactions*, vol. XIV., p. 1.

III. The sad and lamentable Destruction and Desolation of Jerusalem, by Fire, Sword, Famine, and Pestilence.

To which is added :

A full and true account of the LIFE of ST. PETER the Apostle, who was crucified at Rome with his head downwards."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "CARLISLE.
Printed and sold by F. JOLLIE, in Scotch Street.
M,DCC,LXXXIX."

This is a twenty four : very closely printed, and giving much information, including the Epistle of Publius Lentullus concerning Christ.

(18) W

"A
DESCRIPTION
of the
LAKE at KESWICK
(And the adjacent Country)
In CUMBERLAND
Communicated in a LETTER to a FRIEND.
By a POPULAR WRITER."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "WHITEHAVEN.
Printed by JOHN DUNN.
MDCCLXXII."

An eight page chap. This account of Keswick was written by the "late ingenious Dr. Brown," and is reproduced in "W. Hutchinson's Excursion to the Lakes," printed for J. WILKIE, No. 71, St. Paul's Churchyard, and W. CHARNLEY, in Newcastle, in 1776. It is there called "Dr. Brown's Letter," printed at Newcastle in the year 1767.

(67) P.

(67) P.

"LITERARY MUSEUM
Consisting of
MISCELLANEOUS EXTRACTS
In Prose and Verse
(Selected from the most esteemed modern authors)
Particularly the interesting legendary Tale of
ELMINA
or, the
FLOWER THAT NEVER FADES
With a variety of
Epigrims, Epitaphs, &c.
viz.,
Epigrims:
1st. By a YOUNG LADY
2nd. On SCOTCH LOYALTY. .
Epitaphs:
1st. On A WIFE.
2nd. On a SERJEANT of the Surrey Militia.
3rd. On DR. JOHNSTON.
4th. On a YOUNG LADY

The whole adapted to amuse the learned; instruct the ignorant; banish the torpid hours of melancholy, by introducing conviviality and cheerfulness."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "Printed by ANN BELL, Penrith."
This chap book has 32 pages, of which the last ten are occupied by various poetical effusions, two of which relate to slavery, while a third celebrates Lord Howe's Victory of June 1st, 1794.

(68) P.

"THE
PUZZLING CAP
Being
A CHOICE COLLECTION
of
RIDDLES

RIDDLES
in
FAMILIAR VERSES.

In this book, my friends, you'll find a choice repast for the mind.

Woodcut. None on title page.
Imprint. "PENRITH.
Printed and sold by A. BELL. 1796."

A twenty four. Two woodcuts, one in the text; one represents an engagement between a fort on a cliff and two men at war, intended probably to represent the Siege of Belleisle ; this block is frequently used by A. Bell, see 9 P., 14 P., 15 P., and 16 P. See also 43 M. The other block represents a windmill, and is on the title page of 18 P.
The riddles are dull, but decorous.

(69) P.

"TWO EXCELLENT
SONGS
viz.,
SWEET WILLIAM OF
PLYMOUTH,
and
ENGLAND'S GLORY."

Woodcut. A sailor with his arm round a girl points to a ship in the offing, as in 23 P., and 26 P. See the first of these for history of this block.
Imprint. "Printed by A. Bell. Penrith."

An eight page chap book. A. Bell also printed "Sweet William of Plymouth," with the Siege of Belleisle block on the title page. See 15 P.

(70) P.

"THE
BERKSHIRE
LADY'S
GARLAND."

Woodcut

Woodcut. A dealer in old clothes, apparently. He has a bag of clothes (?) over his right shoulder and a three cornered hat in his left hand, and another on his head. This comes probably from some series of Street Cries.

Imprint. "Penrith.
Printed and sold by Ann Bell."
An eight page chap book—a well known story. See 26 M.

(70) P

"THE
CRAFTY CHAMBER MAID'S
GARLAND."

Part I. How a young merchant fell in love with his Mother's chambermaid.

Part II. How they met in a grove, and he attempted her chastity.

Part III. How the chambermaid outwitted the merchant by putting an old bawd to her bed, which so affrighted him that he ran down stairs, thinking it was the Devil. Concluding with the happy marriage of the chambermaid and merchant.

Woodcut. A lady and gentleman in conversation. The lady wears the Fontange or commode head dress, which was in vogue in the latter part of the reign of William III. and Queen Anne. Is the same block as on 17 P., which see.

Imprint. "Penrith.
Printed and sold by Ann Bell."
An eight page chap,—a rather coarse story.

(72) P.

"A SELECTION
Of the newest and most approved
SONGS
Sung at all the public Places of
ENTERTAINMENT

THE

THE DUKE OF HATHELL'S
HIGHLANDMEN
and
BRITON'S WISH."

Woodcut. Same as on 17 P. and on the Chambermaid's Garland.
Imprint. "A. Bell, Printer. Penrith."

An eight page chap book. The song of the Highlandmen records the refusal of a Highland regiment to embark for the East Indies. Briton's wish is a wish for peace.

(73) P.

"THE
MUSICAL COMPANION
Being
Two of the most approved
SONGS
viz.,
THE FEMALE DRUMMER
and
JUSTICE BLIND."

Woodcut. A bird, evidently a copy of the kite from the Cock Robin series, from J. White of Newcastle's stock. See Banbury Chap Books, p. 20. The coffin is omitted.
Imprint. "Printed and sold by Ann Bell, Penrith."
An eight page chap.

(74) P.

"A COLLECTION OF MODERN CHOICE
SONGS
Adapted for the Sons of Mirth and Humour.
The Return of Poor Jack.
The Death of Poor Jack.
Mary's Dream, or Sandy's Ghost."

Woodcut

Woodcut. A very rude cut of an action between a fort on a cliff and two men of war,—the siege of Belleisle. 9 P., 14 P., 15 P., and 43 M.

Imprint. "Printed by A. Bell. Penrith."

An eight page chap.

(75) P.

"HISTORY
of
JACK AND THE GIANTS
To which is added
The Funniest of all Funny Things
A Coppy of a
PAINTER'S BILL,
In this Town
Presented to the Vestry, for Work done
in————Church."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "Penrith.
Printed and sold by A. Bell.
1805."

This is a twenty four, but has been set up wrong, so the pagination does not follow in order. A blank page is left for a woodcut. The Painter's Bill is indecorous, to say the least of it.

(76) P.

"THE
HISTORY
of
TOM HICKATHRIFT
PART SECOND."

Woodcut. Too worn to be made out; a male and a female figure on a high seat.

Imprint. "Penrith.
Printed by and for Ann Bell."

Is a twenty four, and contains some of Bell's old wood blocks.

(77) P.

(77) P.

"THE
ADVENTURES
of
HOURAN BANOW,
A
TURKISH MERCHANT
As related by himself.
Before the
GREAT MOGUL.

At the place where this was bought may be had a large collection of songs, histories, etc."

No woodcut.
Imprint. "Printed by Anthony Soulby, Penrith."
A twenty four page chap book.

(78) P.

"THE
HISTORY
of ADAM BELL, CLIM OF THE CLOUGH and
WILLIAM OF CLOUDESLIE.
THE THREE NORTHERN
ARCHERS."

Woodcut. An Archer in a modern costume, hat and feathers.
Imprint. "Anthony Soulby, Printer, Penrith."
This is a twenty four and a duplicate of (49) P.

(79) P.

"THE
HISTORY
of
SELICO
Giving:

An account of his Marriage to Berissa daughter of Falrulho, Bishop of Sabi; also of the war between the King

King of Dahomai and the King of Juida; a reward promised to any one who would discover to the King the person who had broken into his seraglio: How Selico agrees with his brother Teloroi, to be carried before the King of Dahomai, for the sake of seeing his Berissa, and the punishments that were to be inflicted upon them."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "Penrith; Printed by Anthony Soulby."
A twenty four.

(80) P.

"THE
HISTORY
of
TIMUR.

How Timur envies a merchant's happiness. Timur converts his paternal property into money, and with it buys two camels, a couple of slaves, and a variety of country produce . . . . . (23 *lines in all*) . . . . After which Timur lives in affluence all his life and dies in peace and quietness."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "Penrith; Printed by A. Soulby."
A twenty four.

(81) P.

"AN EXCELLENT
OLD SONG
Setting forth the memorable Battle fought
between
SIR LANCELOT DU LAKE
and
TARQUIN, THE GIANT
Who dwelt at the Giant's Cave, at
EDENSIDE, near PENRITH."

Woodcut

Woodcut. Very much worn; three men, one on crutches, marching to the right.

Imprint. "Penrith; printed by Anthony Soulby."

An eight page chap book. It contains a long ballad, which is stated to be "Taken from an ancient manuscript lately found in the ruins of a Danish Temple, called Mabourg Castle, by Mr. Scollough of Emont Bridge, guide to the antiquities there." It is followed by a short poem called "Ma chère Amie."

(82) P.

"THE
EXCELLENT OLD BALLAD
of
THE THRIFTLESS
HEIR OF LINN
and
JOHN OF THE SCALES
In Two Parts."

Woodcut. In an oval frame, a young head, plumed hat; qu: Edward VI.

Imprint. "Soulby, Penrith."

An eight page chap book, duplicate of 50 P.

(83) P.

"A
HEROIC
BALLAD
called
SIR JAMES THE ROSE."

Woodcut. Rude representation of the fight between Tom Hickathrift and the Giant, same as on 56 P. and 57 P., the "Curious History of Thomas Hickathrift."

Imprint. "Penrith; Printed by Anthony Soulby."

A ballad of two lovers, a cruel parent, and a bloody fight.

(84) P.

(84) P.

"LOVE IN A BARN
or the
COUNTRY COURTSHIP
In Three Parts."

Part I. How a Lord fell in Love with a country girl, in order to rob her of her maiden-head.

Part II. How the country girl invited him to her father's barn, where a gang of gipsies lay, and of their merry pastime.

Part III. How the young Lord fell asleep, and of their tying the young gipsy to his back, and the fright they put him in.

Woodcut. A house with two windows on either side of the door, and a formal tree or bush to the right, and a hedge in front. This appears in other chaps by Soulby; *e.g.*, the battle between Sir Lancelot du Lake and Tarquin the Giant.

Imprint. "Penrith; Printed by A. Soulby."

(85) P.

"THE
SHEPHERDESS
of the
ALPS
a very
Interesting, pathetic
and
MORAL TALE.
Published at the request of several Ladies of
Distinction."

Woodcut. A small figure of a sheep.

Imprint. "Penrith.

Printed by Anthony Soulby of whom may be had a large and general assortment of Histories, Songs, Patters, Children's Books, &c."

A twenty four.

(86) P.

"THREE CHOICE
SONGS.

1. LIBERTY

1. LIBERTY HALL.
2. ROGER and PEGGY.
3. VICAR and MOSES."

Woodcut. A much worn block. A man in costume late 17th century; on the right a tree; on the left what seem intended for shrubs, but look like carpenter's saws stuck in the earth.

Imprint. "Printed at the new Printing Office, Penrith."

An eight page chap.

(87) P.

"COPY of a LETTER
wrote by
A YOUNG SHEPHERD
To his Friend
in
Borrowdale
A New Edition
To which is added,
A Glossary of the
CUMBERLAND WORDS."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "Penrith.
Printed for J. Richardson, Bookseller, 1788."

This is a chap book of 16 pages. The glossary is supplied by Mr. James Clarke, the author of Clarke's Survey of the Lakes.

(44) M

"THE
LIFE
Strange Voyages
and
Uncommon Adventures
of
AMBROSE GWINETT
Formerly known to the Public as the
LAME BEGGAR,

Who

Who for a long time swept the way at the Mews Gate, Charing Cross.

Containing an account of his being convicted and hanged in chains at Deal, in Kent, for the supposed murder of Mr. Collins, and his surprising recovery after being executed.

His voyage to the West Indies; his being taken by the Spaniards, where he meets the indentical Collins, whom he was supposed to have murdered; the accident that threw Mr. Gwinnet into the hands of the pirates; his extraordinary adventures with them, and being re-taken by the Spaniards, and by them condemned to the gallies; his being taken and made a slave of by the Algerines, and after suffering many hardships, his return to England."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "Preston: printed by E. Sergent."
A twenty four.

(45) M.

"THE
SKY-LARK
A
COLLECTION
of the
Newest and most Approved
SONGS
Sung at the
LONDON THEATRES
and other
PLACES OF AMUSEMENT
Convivial Meetings etc.

1. The

1. The Sailor's Adieu.
2. The Social Fellow.
3. Girl of my Heart.
4. Lunnon's the Devil
5. The Girl I adore.
6. The Cabin Boy.
7. The Cottage that stands by the sea.
8. England's Stout Wan (*sic*) of War.
9. Sweet Phillis.
10. Chapter of Donkeys.
11. William far away.
12. Soldier's Daughter."

Woodcut. A bird (lark) on a bough; the clerk from an early Cock Robin series without the "Amen."

Imprint. "London. Printed and sold by G. Piggot, 60, Old Street."

A twelve page chap book.

(46) M.

"THE
YOUNG AND THOUGHTLESS
CRIMINAL.

Being a true and most affecting History of the unfortunate convict Hannah Bromley, alias Griffiths, only nineteen years of age, who was executed on Wednesday October 12th 1796, upon Kennington Common, for being concerned in robbing Mr. Bishop's House of a large quantity of Tea, Wearing Apparel, &c. and attempting to set fire to the premises.

Containing:

An account of her being seduced by an artful young man, who lived in the neighbourhood, by whose persuasion she committed the crime for which she was executed.

Also

The pathetic letter which she sent her sweetheart, the night before her execution, and concluding with a mournful copy of verses."

Woodcut. None.

Imprint. "London: Printed 1796."

(47) M.

(47) M.

"BOOKS
SOLD BY
JAMES PHILLIPS
BOOKSELLER, STATIONER AND PRINTER.
in
GEORGE YARD, LOMBARD STREET
Of whom may also be had
BIBLES, TESTAMENTS, DICTIONARIES,
SCHOOL BOOKS,
BOOKS IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES,
ACCOUNT BOOKS
and
STATIONERY IN GENERAL.
N.B. Printing neatly and expeditiously executed."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "London. MDCCXC."

(48) M.

"THE
HISTORY
Of the Famous
MISS MOLL FLANDERS,

Who was born in Newgate, and during a life of continued variety for 60 years, was 17 times a whore, 5 times a wife, whereof once to her own brother, 12 years a thief, 11 times in Bridewell, 9 times in New Prison, 11 times in Wood Street Compter, 6 times in the Poultry Compter, 14 times in the Gatehouse, 25 times in Newgate, 15 times whipt at the Cart's corse, 4 times burnt in the hand, once condemned for life, and 8 years a transport in Virginia. At last grew rich, lived honest, died a penitent."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "Edinburgh. Printed in Nidderys-Wynd 1783."
A twenty four. An adaptation from Defoe's work.

(41) N.P.

(41) N.P.

"A
COLLECTION
of New and Ingenious
RIDDLES
To which are added:
Some comical Tales and Jests intended for the Promotion of Innocent Mirth, and to amuse the mind without corrupting the morals."

Woodcut. A man in a long coat with an odd head-dress discharges a gun at a figure seated at a table with a tankard before him. This figure wears a tall conical cap and coat, apparently of fur, and looks like Robinson Crusoe. The gun emits columns of smoke from both touchhole and muzzle, and between the columns is the number 10.
Imprint. "Printed in the present year."

(42) N.P.

"A
GARLAND
containing
PATRICK O'NEAL'S
Description of a
MAN OF WAR.
Also, Dibdin's Yanco."

Woodcut. Rude block of a fight between two men of war.
Imprint. "Entered according to order."
An eight page chap, and is a duplicate of (15) N.P.

(43) N.P.

"THE
SAILOR'S DELIGHT
containing:
1. THE WATERMAN.
2. POOR JACK.
3. THE BRITISH TAR.
4. THE WANDERING SAILOR.
5. JACK RATLIN."

Woodcut

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap.

(44) N.P.

"THE
LOYAL SONGSTERS
containing
The following celebrated
SONGS:

1. A Constitutional Song.
2. When party Feuds and hateful Broils.
3. The Volunteers.
4. When War ensanguin'd Gallia's Plains.
5. A Catch."

Woodcut. St. George and the Dragon: the same block as on (11) C., a chap book printed by Jollie of Carlisle.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap.

(45) N.P.

"FIVE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS.

I. POOR JACK.
II. DANDY O!
III. NOTHING LIKE GROG.
IV. VALENTINE.
V. WHAT CARE WE FOR FRANCE OR SPAIN.

Woodcut. John Gilpin galloping past the Bell at Edmonton: the same block as on p. 18 of (6) C., a chap book of Jollie of Carlisle.
Imprint. "Entered according to Order."

(46) N.P.

"AN EXCELLENT NEW SONG
called
THE MAID MILKING HER COW.
To which is added,

THE

THE BONNY IRISH BOY,
THE LIGHT HORSEMAN,
COME UNDER MY PLAIDIE."

Woodcut. An oblong block with oval frame. Within a melancholy man addressing a woman in a crinoline; in back ground two trees and a mountain.

Imprint. "Entered according to Order."

An eight page chap.

(47) N.P.

"A
PENNY-WORTH OF WIT
In Three Parts."

Woodcut. The block of the Siege of Belleisle, which occurs so often in this collection. See (9) P.

Imprint. None.

An eight page chap. A long story of a merchant who neglected his wife for a mistress, but found out his error.

(48) N.P.

"THE
GOLDEN BULL."

A Duplicate of (37) N.P.

(49) N.P.

"THE
GOLDEN CUP
or, the
LORD of DURHAM."

Woodcut. A much be-scrolled coat of arms: the shield divided per fess, in chief some sort of gin, or machine; in base, three garbs.

Imprint. None.

A chap of eight pages: a long story in verse of a nobleman of Durham, who lost his way out hunting and was sheltered by a keeper, whose wife was just confined of a boy, to whom the Lord stood godfather, and gave a valuable cabinet, as a christening present. What came of it, and how the godson married the Lord's daughter.

(50) N.P.

(50) N.P.

"FIVE
NEW SONGS
viz.,

1. Orange and Blue.
2. A Scotch Minister's Courtship.
3. I 'd think on thee, my Love.
4. What care we for France or Spain.
5. Life 's like a Ship in constant motion."

Woodcut. In an oval frame, portrait of a man in Elizabethan costume, upper lip and upper part of lower clean shaven: rest of face closely covered with hair.

Imprint. "1796."

An eight page chap.

(51) N.P.

"FOUR EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS
(viz :)

1. Valiant Maid.
2. Allen's Return.
3. Greenwich Pensioner.
4. My heart is devoted, dear Mary, to thee."

Woodcut. Portrait of man in armour with scarf over right shoulder.

Imprint. None.

An eight page chap, but the title page is not counted, so the last is numbered 7.

(52) N.P.

"THE
WANDERING SHEPERDESS (sic)
or
OXFORDSHIRE
TRAGEDY
In Two Parts."

Woodcut

Woodcut. Three ladies; apparently a mother and two daughters; or a great lady and two attendants.

Imprint. "Entering according to Order. 1792."

A chap book of eight pages: a story of a seduction and a murder.

(53) N.P.

"THE SLIGHTED
FATHER
Or, The Unnatural
Son
Justly reclaimed.
To which is added:
A New Glee, for three Voices."

Woodcut. A country man with basket on left arm and in right hand a long pole on which he leans.

Imprint. None.

An eight page chap. A story of a father, who makes over his fortune to his son, that the son may marry a proud beauty. The father at first lives with them, but, becoming old and ill, is turned out to live in the lodge: some words of a grandson, occasion the son to repent, and the father is taken back.

(54) N.P.

"WILLIAM AND SUSAN'S
GARLAND
In Three Parts
Tune: 'Black ey'd Susan.'"

Wood block. An interior, two country men consulting a man in full bottomed wig, seated at a table: over his head the letter F., and on the wall maps of the two hemispheres, same block as on p. 18 of Soulby's chap cook (52) P.

An eight page chap book.

(55) N.P.

"THE
WEEPING MOTHER
Shewing:

The

The sorrowful Mother's complaint of a bad and wicked daughter.

The dying Mother's Advice to her Daughter at the Hour of her Departure.

The Mother's Death throws the Daughter into a swoon, from whence being recovered, she relates many wonderful things she saw in her trance.

Her good Advice to her old companions, desiring them to amend their lives.

Concluding with her Resolution to serve God till the Hour of her Death.

To which is added:
A Hymn on Death and Glory."

Woodcut. A Bishop's Mitre.
Imprint. "Entered according to Order."
An eight page chap.

(56)

"BEN BLOCK'S
ADVICE TO THE TARS OF
OLD ENGLAND.
A favourite New Song, for every true and loyal
Seaman in His Majesty's Navy.
Also, the following
NEW SONGS:
The Cries of London.
Logie of Buchan.
My Friend and Pitcher."

Woodcut. A moth displayed.
Imprint. "Entered according to Order."
An eight page chap.

(57) N.P.

"KENTSHIRE TRAGEDY
or the
CONSTANT

CONSTANT LOVER'S OVERTHROW
To which are added:
THE FEMALE SAILOR.
SEE YOUR COUNTRY RIGHTED.
FAIR SUSANNA.
NOW OR NEVER."

Woodcut. A Lady walking in a walled enclosure.
Imprint. "Entered according to order, 1795."

(58) N.P.

"THE WATER BALLOON.
To which are added:
THE SAILOR'S COURTSHIP, OR,
THE MOTHER'S ADVISE.
BRAES OF YARROW.
LOVELY PEGGY.
GUMBERNAULD HOUSE.
THE KISS REPAID."

Woodcut. Man with three cornered hat in his hand shaking hands with a lady.
Imprint. "Entered according to Order, 1795."
An eight page chap book.

(59) N.P.

"FOUR
EXCELLENT
NEW
SONGS
(viz:)
The Guinea Pig.
Larre O'Brian.
The Light Horseman.
Farmer Blackberry."

Woodcut. A ship sailing to the right under topsails with fore and main canvas clewed up.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap.

(60) N.P.

(60) N.P.

"THREE EXCELLENT
NEW SONGS.
Admiral Duncan's Victory.
Tasier on Clocks and Watches.
The Young Man's Lamentation."

Woodcut. A Huntsman with horn, hunting a stag in a park.
Imprint. "Printed in 1797."
An eight page chap.

(61) N.P.

"THE CONSTANT LOVERS
GARLAND
In Four Parts."
(The story of beautiful Nancy of Yarmouth, the same as on (1) W.)"

Woodcut. A man, in buff coat and cuirass over it, hands to or receives from an elderly woman some object. He has a sword in his left hand. The sun, very full-faced, is in the upper right hand corner of the picture.
Imprint. "Licensed and Entered according to Order."
An eight page chap.

(62) N.P.

"DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT
of the
ANACONDA,
A Serpent in the East Indies.
With the manner of its seizing
And managing its prey.
Price. One penny."
Extract of a Letter from Mr. Edwin, an English Gentleman, many years resident in India.

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. None.
An eight page chap.

(63) N.P.

(63) N.P.

"THE
GIN-SHOP
or
A PEEP INTO A PRISON."

Woodcut. Very rude: a figure of a man standing by a table, on which are a jug, and other things, with a tankard in one hand and a pipe in the other.
Imprint. None.
A fragment pp. 7—18 from a twenty-four.

(64) N.P.

"THE
EXECUTION OF WILD ROBERT,
Being
A Warning to all Parents."

Woodcut. A figure hanging from a gibbet.
Imprint. None.
Now an eight page chap but may have been longer.

(49) M.

"SOME ACCOUNT OF MR POMFRET
AND HIS WRITINGS."

Woodcut. None.
Imprint. "London Anno 1699."
This consists of pp 111—X from some longer chap book.

ART. V. *Report of the Cumberland Excavation Committee for* 1899. By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

THE excavations which were carried on last August by the Cumberland Excavation Committee had three objects: to examine the Roman fort at Drumburgh, in the western part of the Wall, to search for the line of the Wall at Burgh Marsh, immediately east of the fort, and thirdly, to test an intrenchment which Mr. Mac Lauchlan mentions as existing at Walby, $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles east of Carlisle, and which deserved consideration as a possible relic of a Turf Wall. The results obtained were satisfactory, though not sensational. (1) The fort at Drumburgh seems to have been either an ordinary Milecastle or a fort slightly larger than that, resembling the fort now called the King's Stables, at the crossing of the Poltrossburn, near Gilsland railway station. In either case it was somewhat different from what has been usually supposed. (2) The line of the Wall at Burgh Marsh was not discovered, and is probably beyond the reach of discovery. But the evidence obtained was adequate to shew that it did not run round the Marsh; either it was carried straight across the Marsh or this section was left undefended. (3) The alleged intrenchment at Walby proved to be no intrenchment at all, and the Turf Wall remains as before, known solely near Birdoswald. In addition to these results, our excavations illustrated, in some curious details, the danger of trusting to the look of the surface when one is exploring Roman remains, and some remarks on this point have been added at the end of the Report.

As before, the excavations were greatly aided by the kindness of land-owners and farmers, who granted all necessary

necessary permissions most readily. The Society is especially indebted to Lord Carlisle, for many facilities, to Lord Lonsdale, for leave to excavate on Easton Marsh and on Howcroft at Drumburgh; to Mr. Nixon Lawson for leave to excavate at Drumburgh on the site of the fort; to Mrs. Fitzgerald, for leave to excavate at Walby; further to Mr. Rickerby and Mr. Lightfoot of Drumburgh, and to Mrs. Haugh of Walby, tenants of the ground excavated, for leave and kindly help, and lastly to the North British Railway Company, for facilities at Drumburgh. The preliminary arrangements, which were more intricate this year than usual, were made by Chancellor Ferguson and Mr. T. H. Hodgson. All the digging was done under supervision, and we may explain here that by this we mean continuous and (as we hope) competent supervision. One or more of the supervisors named in the Report were present during practically the whole of each working day. We do not claim to have reached any ideal standard in this matter, but we may express our opinion that no ordinary excavation can be said to be adequately supervised where less than this is done. For surveying and planning, the Society is once more indebted to the skill and patience of Mr. and Mrs. Hodgson. The usual statement of accounts is appended.

Our plans for 1900 are not yet sufficiently formed to be stated here. We have now achieved our sixth campaign, but there are still sites on and near the Wall which deserve attention. Such are the line of the Vallum near Castlesteads, the 'camp' at Watchcross, some possible traces of a 'civil' settlement at Stanwix, and some items west of Carlisle.

I. Drumburgh Fort.

Drumburgh is a hamlet on the south-east slope of a little hill which rises from the south shore of Solway, about 9 miles west of Carlisle. Low as the hill is, for its highest

highest point is only 60 feet above the sea, it commands a fine view over the surrounding country. North, the long sullen mass of Birrenswark is prominent and conspicuous. East, you may look over Burgh Marsh and the lowlands of Carlisle to Northumberland and the Nicks of Thirlwall. South are the Lake hills, and westward the lofty mass of Criffel. It is a panorama such as a little eminence frequently enjoys in a low-lying country. The Roman Wall ran across the top of this hill, and on the top all archæologists have agreed to place a Roman fort. Their accounts of this fort do not, however, agree so well. Horsley, the first writer to mention it in any detail, writing about 1730, described it as five chains square, the ramparts large and the ditch very deep. According to this account it would have contained two and a half acres, and would have been one of the smaller forts, about the same size as Castlesteads and Stanwix. Unfortunately Horsley does not describe the exact situation of the fort. The next to visit and record was William Hutton, in July 1801. He says that "the site of the Station, now an orchard, garden, &c., is perfectly plain;" he adds that the Great Wall crossed the turnpike road at the Station, that is, the fort. His account, as we found, is quite wrong. Thirty years later, in 1833, John Hodgson came to the place.* He, like Horsley, omits to say where exactly the fort stood, but asserts that, if it had ever had stone walls, they had been removed, and that an earthen terrace which (he alleges) flanked their inside had been smoothed into a glacis, to efface the scar made between it and the ditch by the removal of the foundations. In 1851 Dr. Bruce, in the first edition of his *Roman Wall*, alludes to the fort as on the grounds of Richard Lawson, Esq.; its ramparts and ditch were well defined, he says, the northern rampart being some few

* *History of Northumberland*, II. iii. 302.

yards

yards south of the line of the Great Wall. Finally, in 1854, Mr. Mac Lauchlan estimated the size at 80 by 50 yards (three quarters of an acre), and marked on his map the north and west ramparts as still visible in a field which is the field obviously meant by Dr. Bruce. These accounts are each of them precise, and their writers had, or ought to have had, definite objects before them, but it is not plain that they had the same objects. The spot mentioned by Mac Lauchlan and Bruce can still be identified, but the description of Hutton is vague and even those of Horsley and Hodgson are not easily explicable. The hamlet has not greatly altered since they wrote. Four and a half centuries ago Leland tells us that the Roman Wall had been already rooted up. The survey made on the attainder of Leonard Dacre in 1589 gives nearly the same number of houses as there are at present, and Lord Lonsdale's estate maps of 1749-65 closely resemble the present Ordnance Survey maps. One or two houses and barns are known to be recent additions, but many of the buildings are old-fashioned 'clay-daubins,' and the general appearance of the hamlet cannot have greatly altered for three hundred years. Probably Horsley and Hodgson intended to indicate the same site and the same north-west corner as Bruce and Mac Lauchlan, but their language is not so clear as we could wish.

Our excavations were on the site noticed by Bruce and Mac Lauchlan. This is a two-acre field on the top of the hill, belonging to Mr. Lawson. A lane called Sandy Lonning, now thrown into the field, once ran along its north side, and its south-east corner is cut off from the rest by a substantial open ditch, forming an elbow. This is the ditch which Mac Lauchlan notes as the north and west sides of the fort; it may be that to which the earlier writers allude. Our work was beset with many difficulties. The long drought of July and August had

had hardened the ground to a terrible obstinacy. The ground itself, clay and rubble for the most part, with a clay sub-soil, would at any time have been troublesome; as it was, we were practically quarrying, and since the Roman remains were found to lie at the unexpected depth of 5 or 6 feet, we were compelled to content ourselves with the minimum necessary for our purpose. Had it not been for the excellence of our workmen we should have had to content ourselves with even less. In the end, however, our trenches shewed that the Great Wall ran across the field from east to west, with its fosse in front of it, and formed the north rampart of the fort. The junction of the Great Wall and the west rampart of the fort was also determined, and part of a building inside the fort was uncovered.

The lines of walling thus ascertained do not in the least agree with the lines of the ditch now visible on the surface, which is the open ditch mentioned above. As Plan II. shews, they run obliquely to it, and measurements demonstrate that their foundations are too deep to be reasonably connected with it. The whole site of the fort seems, indeed, to have been buried since Roman times under an accumulation of soil and stones 4, 5, and, in places, 6 feet thick. Part of this accumulation is debris, but part seems to have been intentionally placed there to fit the spot for use. Two reasons suggest that this accumulation is of early date. In the first place, when Leland wrote (about 1540), the Roman Walls had already vanished. In the second place, we met, in trench 8, with the remains of a mediæval or modern house, not improbably the foundations of a 'clay-daubin,' which yielded fragments of pottery, assigned by Mr. C. H. Read, to whom we submitted it, to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. This house stood above and obliquely to the Roman Wall, from which it was separated by a solid layer of clay and debris two feet in thickness. It was destroyed

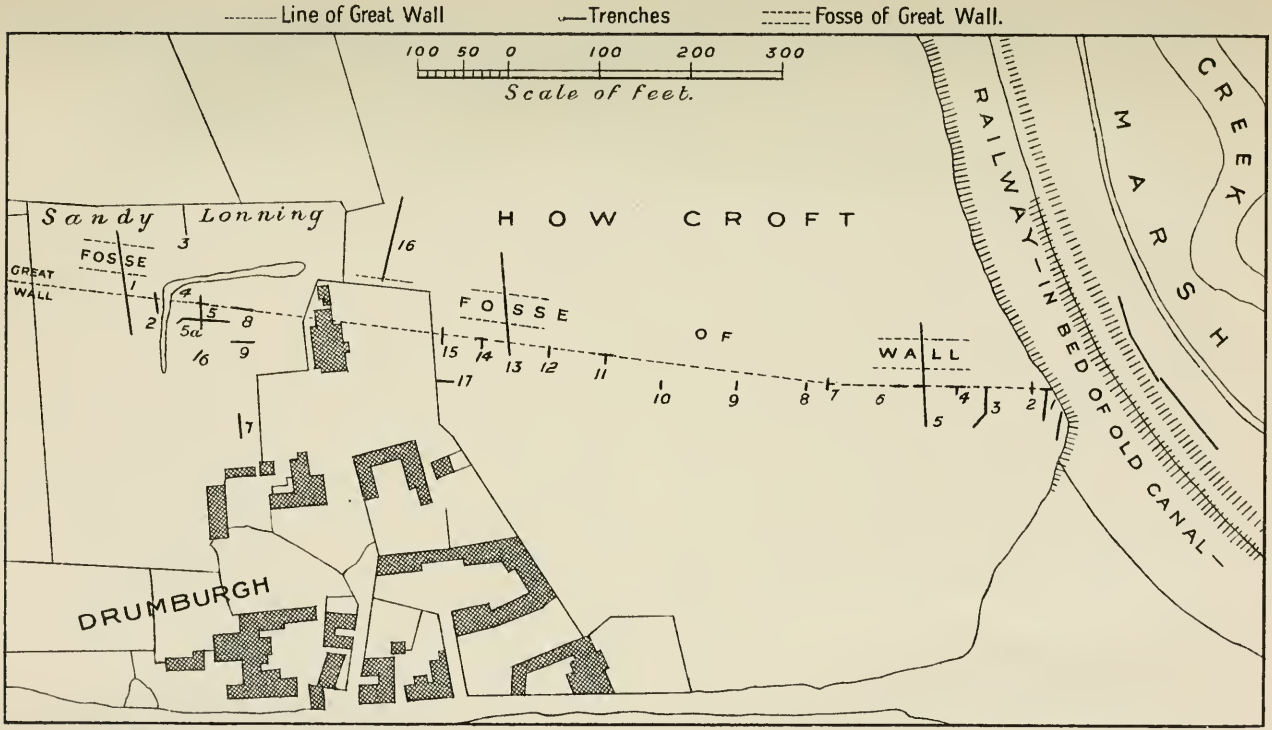

PLATE I. *To Face P. 84.* *T. H. Hodgson, 1899.*

DRUMBURGH AND ENVIRONS.

destroyed long enough ago to have passed wholly out of local recollection. It is therefore probable that the whole present surface is post-Roman, and that, among other things, the now visible ditch is post-Roman, and belongs to the present and not to the Roman surface level, though it may itself be of some antiquity. Here, then, as in many cases, surface indications prove deceptive, and the theories erected on them by previous writers must be discarded.

The masonry which we found is much ruined. The Great Wall and the west wall of the fort have been 'spoiled' down to their foundation courses or even removed wholly. In each wall the surviving foundation course is faced with large thin red-sandstone slabs, and the width from outside to outside averages 9½ feet. As the foundation courses in Roman work projected beyond the superstructure, the width mentioned would imply a width of 8½ feet for the walls themselves, and this agrees well with the known dimensions of existing pieces, both of the Great Wall and of fort walls and of milecastle walls. At the corner of the fort, where the Great Wall and the fort wall meet, the foundations seemed to be bonded together. The foundations were laid sometimes on a few cobbles, sometimes on the red clay which is here the natural subsoil.

The north-west corner of the fort is not rounded in the manner usual in the large forts of the Wall, nor has it the corner turret, which is also usual in such cases. The fort wall makes with the Great Wall a sheer right angle.* Immediately within the right angle, separated by no more than twelve or thirteen inches from the Great Wall and the west wall of the fort, stands—or stood—a buttressed building. Rather more of this survives than of

* Speaking strictly, we should say that it is not a true right angle. This, however, is a detail of little importance, for very few Roman rectangular buildings have their angles mathematically true.

the

the Walls, doubtless because it is constructed of smaller and poorer stones and has not attracted the later builder. Its wall averages thirty-two inches in thickness, and is faced on each side with courses of thin sandstone slabs, of which three representative specimens measured 21 by 16 by $3\frac{1}{2}$, 18 by 12 by $4\frac{1}{2}$, 16 by 13 by 3 inches; the interior between these facing stones, is filled with rubble, and the whole appears to have been mortared, though the mortar is now mostly decayed. On the west side are buttresses, tied into the wall, averaging thirty-one or thirty-two inches in projection and width, and built of the same masonry as the wall; they are 10 feet apart (see Plate II). Close to the north-west corner there is a small aperture in the wall, as for a small splayed window. It is seven inches wide on the outside, 13 or 14 inches wide on the inside, and at present three courses (about twelve inches) high; the wall being ruined, we cannot tell if it was ever higher. Two courses of stone are below it, and since it was thus almost on the ground level and in a corner, it cannot have been a window. A quantity of black matter was found just outside it (Point B in Plate II), and this suggests a furnace to warm the building. Buttressed buildings are not infrequently found fitted with hypocausts in Roman forts. We were unable to quarry far enough into the rock-like soil to find out whether the building ever had hypocaust pillars and a flooring. The strata of earths, as ascertained at point A in Plate II, are, however, curious and deserve illustration. Beneath some three and a half feet of forced soil and one and a half feet of blue clay is a layer of mould one foot thick. Finally, at 5 ft. 10 in. below the present surface, is the natural red clay sub-soil, and resting on it the foundation of the wall. The annexed cut (Fig. 1) drawn roughly to the scale

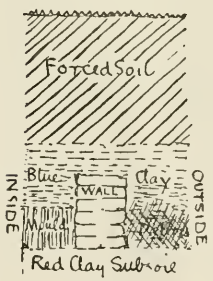

FIG. 1.

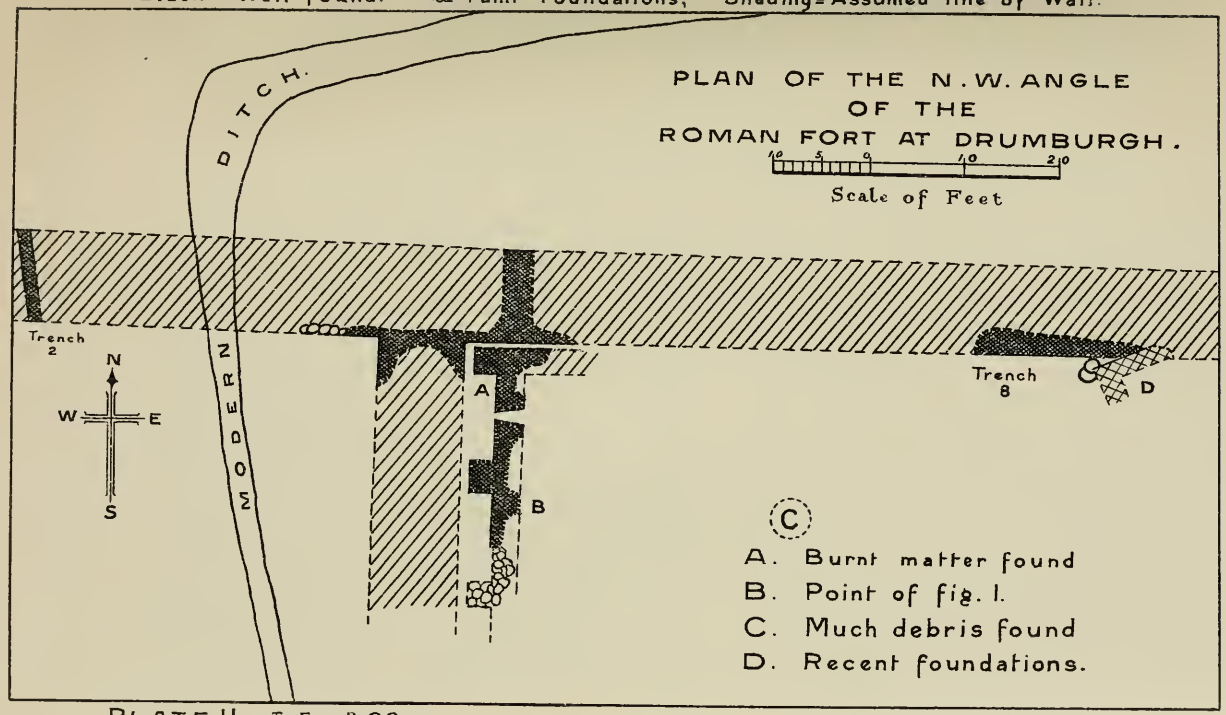

PLATE II. *To Face P. 86.*

T. H. Hodgson, 1899

DRUMBURGH FORT.

scale of one to sixty, shews the successive formations. It suggests to us that the building had no floor of of paving or gravel, but possibly a suspended hypocaust floor. We regret that the condition of the ground made it impossible for us to examine the interior more thoroughly. We should have liked also to discover its dimensions, but the circumstances made this even more impossible. And we confess to doubting whether in any case the examination would have been very profitable. The trench which we dug eastwards across the building, revealed at 16-18 feet east from the buttressed wall a hole full of large stones and debris to a depth of nine feet, but no standing masonry, and it is plain that in many places the walls of the building as well as the walls of the fort have been thoroughly destroyed.

Our efforts to find the east and south walls of the fort were equally unproductive. Thinking, for various reasons to be mentioned below, that the fort might be a milecastle, we followed the north wall, that is, the Great Wall, in trench viii, in the hope that we might meet the north-east corner of the fort and the turn of the east wall at 50, or 60, or 70 feet from the ascertained north-west corner, one or other of these distances being the the usual inside length of the side of a milecastle.* Our trench commenced at 55 feet east of the north-west corner and continued to trace the wall for 15 feet, when a modern or mediæval foundation, already mentioned, blocked the way. Some parallel trenches yielded no definite results, and we were obliged, at least for the current year, to abandon the search. Similarly with the south wall. We trenched for this in trench vii across the line of the south wall, as marked by Mr. Mac Lauchlan, at 120 feet south of the north wall's inner face. Our trench

* The Housesteads milecastle measures internally 57 by 49 feet, that at Castle Nick 62 by 50, that at Cawfields 63 by 49 (Bruce). The Birdoswald milecastle which we examined in 1898 measures 65 by 75 feet.

was

was over six feet deep before we touched the subsoil; no walling was discernible.

Small finds were rare. In the place where we found the black matter, which we thought might be furnace-relics (p. 86 and B on Plate II), we dug up at 5 feet deep some pieces of coarse black ware, such as occurs on Romano-British sites, and a fragment of a grey, slightly glazed ware shewing a rim, of which Mrs. Hodgson has drawn a profile (Fig. 2). As some doubt was felt whether

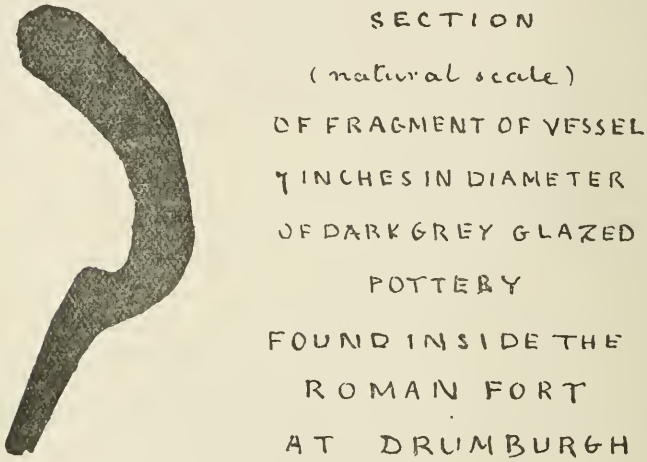

Fig. 2.

the fragment was Roman, it was submitted to Mr. A. J. Evans, Keeper of the Ashmolean, who confirmed its antiquity. In the trench (vii) cut across the supposed south side of the fort, at 6 feet deep, two bits of plain 'Samian' and some bits of black ware came out, and at the same level a well-formed flint-scraper, one inch long and half-an-inch broad. It is in itself an ordinary pre-Roman implement, which, as Sir John Evans suggests, may have been lying about in Roman times, and thrown in with the soil and other loose objects. Flint is so rare in Cumberland that its occurrence is, however, noteworthy.

Beyond

Beyond these finds, we have only to record fourteenth and fifteenth century pottery in trench viii found in mediæval or modern ruins.

Our other trenches need no long account. One revealed the fosse of the wall, apparently 38 feet wide at the top and with a berm of feet between it and the line of the wall, here destroyed. Another (No. iii) concerned Dr. Bruce's statement that the Great Wall here ran north of the fort (p. 82); it was cut across a small bank, which may have been taken for the traces of the Wall, and shewed that this bank was an old hedgerow.

The results which we have now described are defective in many details, but it is nevertheless not impossible to deduce some satisfactory conclusions. We believe we are right in asserting that they shew us the north-west angle of a fort, rectangular in shape and almost exactly filled by a buttressed building. The feature indicates the type of fort which once crowned the hill of Drumburgh; it was a milecastle or a fort very similar to a milecastle. The larger forts on the Wall have rounded angles and turrets even where, as at Aesica or Borcovicium, the Great Wall is their northern rampart. But the smaller forts which, from their regular distances, are called milecastles, have sometimes square corners. They have also internal buildings close to the ramparts. Such have been noted at Cawfields and Castle Nick, though no plans seem to exist, and at the King's Stables, near Gilsland Railway Station. This is a fort which was perhaps larger than an average milecastle, and which stands at an irregular distance; but it is of the milecastle type, and the excavations made there in 1886* shewed there interior buildings just two feet from the rampart-wall. We shall perhaps not do wrong in suggesting that Drumburgh Fort was somewhat similar. Our trench viii was not

* These *Transactions* ix., 164.

long

long enough to determine the extent of its north face, and our other trenches failed to find its south and east walls, and we cannot therefore speak more positively. Moreover, the positions of the milecastles at the western extremity of the Wall are extremely uncertain; in fact, there is no positive evidence that there ever were milecastles west of Carlisle.* We cannot therefore determine whether the site of Drumburgh fits in with any series of such small forts or whether, like the King's Stables, it is independent. But it is obvious that Drumburgh hill is a suitable position for a fort, and not an unsuitable one for a small fort.

It may be convenient to add the details of the trenches dug to obtain the above results :—

Trench 1 was cut across the line of the Wall and the Wall ditch. The former was not found, though there was much debris just where it should have been, and perhaps we did not dig deep enough. The ditch appeared to extend from 64-102 feet, measuring from the south end of the trench; we dug to 9 feet below the present surface without finding its bottom. Apparently there is here a layer of forced soil, some three feet thick, above the natural red clay.

Trench 2 crossed the Wall only; its foundation courses were discovered 40 inches below the present surface, the soil above being forced. The north and south edges of the foundations were 9 feet 6 inches apart; the south edge was a little broken.

Trench 3 crossed the line which we suppose that Dr. Bruce assigned to the Wall when he said it ran clear of the fort (see p. 82). It revealed untouched subsoil, and an old hedgerow of the "Sandy Lonning."

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*There is not really any satisfactory trace of a milecastle west of the neighbourhood of Castlesteads. The milecastle at Pike Hill, destroyed by the road trustees in 1870, is the most western example as yet touched by the spade (these *Transactions* i. 214). The surface indications of a milecastle between Howgill and Dovecot, and of another just east of the Black Bull at Walton are at proper distances, but have not been excavated. As Mr. Mac Lauchlan remarks, the further one goes westward, the evidence for the positions of the milecastles is less and less to be depended on (*Survey*, p. 71). Mr. Hodgson's excavation at Old Wall in 1894 was inconclusive in this respect, as were those at Wallhead.

Trench

Trench 4 (joined to trench 5) shewed the outside of the north-west corner of the fort, and the angle made by the south face of the Great Wall with the outer face of the fort wall. The Great Wall had been robbed clean away, except for the piece nearest the corner; there its footings were 42 inches down. The outer face of the fort wall continued beyond the end of the trench southwards.

Trench 5 traced the west face of the buttressed building (p. 85), which survives 12-18 inches high, with the foundation 68 inches below the present surface. It also shewed the inner corner of the fort, and the foundation course of the Great Wall, about 10 feet wide, but broken on the north edge; this was at 30-40 feet from the south end of the trench, and 7 feet deep. The continuation of the trench northwards for 8 feet showed undisturbed subsoil along the berme, which is immediately cut into by the modern ditch.

Trench 5*a* crossed this trench at right angles, running east and west. At its east end we dug down 9 feet into a mass of clay, huge stones, &c., which shewed that the ground had here been irremediably disturbed. The part of the trench lying between this and the buttressed wall was only partly dug out; the results are given p. 86. and fig. 1. The continuation of the trench westwards crossed the line of the west wall of the fort, but it had been wholly robbed and only debris left. At the extreme west end, the subsoil seemed to sink as if there had once been a dip here.

Trench 6 was intended to catch the west face of the fort wall, but shewed only at its east end some probable traces of cobbles laid for a foundation, at 6 feet down; here, as elsewhere, a thick layer of forced soil and debris had to be pierced.

Trench 7 was cut across the line marked by Mr. Mac Lauchlan as the south rampart, 120 feet from the north rampart or Great Wall (measured from its south face). Below a layer of disturbed soil over 5 feet thick, we found the clay subsoil, and on it some bits of Roman pottery and a flint-scraper. At 6-9 feet from the north end of the trench, and again at 17-20 feet, our workmen detected what they thought to be two lines of rotten foundation slabs. We did not, however, consider these to be real.

Trench 8 exposed the inner face of the Great Wall for 15 feet, at 4 feet 6 inches deep. The east part of the trench was occupied by a modern or mediæval ruin, built with modern or mediæval stones, and supported at the corner by two huge cobbles in modern and mediæval

mediæval style; fourteenth and fifteenth century pottery was found here. About 25 inches of soil intervened between the Roman and the later work, and the first was probably covered up and forgotten before the latter was begun.

Trench 9, parallel to trench 8, was dug to catch, if possible, the east wall of the fort. It shewed only confused debris and rough flagging, which seemed to be post-Roman for a depth of $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Probably we did not reach the true subsoil, but the work was so heavy and the remains so confused that we could not go deeper.

The excavations at Drumburgh was supervised by Mr. Booker, Mr. Hodgson, and myself.

II.—Burgh Marsh.

The Roman Wall, if it ran straight from the fort at Burgh-on-Sands to the fort at Drumburgh, would have crossed the wide marshes of Burgh and Easton, usually called Burgh Marsh, for a distance of two and a half miles. But this great plain of grass-grown mud, scarred by watercourses and flooded at springtide, is an ill place for a long line of masonry, and opinions have differed considerably as to the line adopted by the Romans between Dykesfield on the east and Drumburgh on the west side of the marsh. Horsley, the first to examine the question, supposed the Wall to run round the inland side of the marsh, through the hamlets of Easton and Boustead. He adds that the countryfolk in his time often struck upon the Wall, and could thus determine its course. In 1787, Brand, the historian of Newcastle, subscribes to this view, and states that large quantities of the stones of the Wall had been dug up at Easton. Others have affirmed much the same, but no one has ventured to lay down the precise line of the Wall, despite these alleged discoveries. Horsley so little trusted them that he marks the whole section as doubtful on his map, and Dr. Bruce, who inclined to Horsley's view, emphasizes nevertheless the want of evidence for it. He had seen, he said, some

some stones at Easton which might be Wall stones, but the continuous stony track of the Wall which he expected was wholly absent. On the other hand, John Hodgson asserts that there were no remains or tradition of remains at Boustead or Easton in his time (1843). He argues that the Wall ran straight across the marsh, and identifies it with a certain 'high ridge' which he saw, and which is still visible.* But this ridge is a simple sea bank, and its direction is unsuitable.

Our plan was to find the Wall at Drumburgh, and, if possible, to trace it eastwards either on to or round the marsh. The field which specially concerned us was one called Howcroft, which lies exactly between the fort field and the marsh. It is a grass field, formerly ploughed, eleven acres in extent; its subsoil, as in the other field, is reddish clay, but it is in general close to the turf, and not buried under an accumulation of debris or forced soil. The aspect of the field is easterly, with a gentle slope to marsh level. At the bottom is a steep bank; below that the bed of the Port-Carlisle Canal, now a branch of the North British Railway, and beyond a sea wall and the marsh. We were able to find both Wall and fosse, the Wall represented only by its footings (9½ feet across) and often wholly destroyed, the fosse 25-30 feet from lip to lip. The direction of the works was significant and unexpected. About two-thirds of the way down the field, as you descend it going eastwards, the direction bends, not inland, as if to go 'round the marsh, but northwards. The bend is slight, but sufficed to throw our trenches out as we dug along the supposed line (see Nos. 9-10), and its meaning is plain. The Wall can never have been taken round the Marsh. At the bottom of the field, the broken end of the Wall was found close to the railway hedge, and beyond that we could not trace it. The bottom of the

* History of Northumberland, iii. 302.

canal

canal bed is far lower than the foundations of the Wall, which must have been destroyed when it was constructed in 1822. Unfortunately, nothing was noted. An account of some antiquities found elsewhere in making the canal was communicated to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries at the time, but that account only says that the canal crossed the line of the Wall several times.* Beyond the canal we could not trace the Wall, though we dug extensively.

We also investigated some of the sites through which Horsley's theory supposes the Wall to have run, on the inland side of the Marsh. Mr. John Watson, of Easton, very kindly shewed us five large stones, now in his yard, which had been taken (apparently a year or two ago) from a field called Dales.† They were found lying together in a sort of pocket just below the surface. But they do not seem to be Roman wall stones, and, when the field was drained last year, no more were found in any part of it. We also examined a field called Far Grass Dikes, close to the Grass Dike (=brook), which divides the parishes of Burgh and Bowness, and on the farm of Mr. Joseph Watson, of Marsh House. Here the farmer had noted across the field a strip of ground on which the grass grows poorly, and it was suggested that the foundations of the Wall might be the cause. But a trench here, $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep, shewed only undisturbed sand, and the direction of the strip is quite unsuitable. Further, we visited Boustead Hill, where Mr. Maughan thought he detected the entrenchments of a fort.‡ We had no trouble in finding the spot meant by Mr. Maughan at the west end of the hamlet, but it did not seem to us to resemble in any degree the entrenchments of a Roman fort. In

* Archæologia Aeliana (old series) ii. 115. Hodgson's *History of Northumberland II.* iii. 302, says the Wall was not met here in cutting the canal, but this cannot be true. Perhaps it was met, but not recognized.

† This is an old name, occurring on estate maps of 1749-65. It is probably connected, as Mr. Hodgson says, with the Common Field system. See an article by the Rev. J. C. Atkinson in the *Antiquary* for March, 1886.

‡ These *Transactions*, i. 152.

addition

addition, we ascertained that no Roman stones were built into any of the neighbouring houses, and that no Roman remains had been found there within the knowledge of our informants. Mr. Maughan himself does not assert any such finds, and their entire absence seems fatal to his theory.*

The conclusion seems inevitable. The Wall did not skirt round the Marsh. Either it crossed it, or it was never built for this section. The former alternative requires the assumption that in Roman times part, at least, of the Marsh was higher and drier than now. We can obtain no direct evidence of this; we have only been able to ascertain that the Marsh and the road straight across it existed a hundred and fifty years ago much the same as to-day, and that Boustead and Easton are ancient hamlets like Drumburgh† But it is not incredible that the sea washed away some of the Marsh, and then filled it up with the present mud and sand. It is now washing it away rapidly, but a slight change in the Channel would reverse the procedure. The geological guess that in early times the Wampool flowed out by Drumburgh, instead of by Kirkbride, refers to a period far earlier than the Roman Empire. ‡ The alternative, that no Wall existed on the Marsh, is unattractive. For it leaves the four miles of Wall between Drumburgh and Bowness isolated on an inaccessible and uninhabitable peninsula, which the Romans can have had no motive to fortify in that particular manner. But here we reach a stage of uncertainty, which admits of vague, *a priori* arguments such as strike each student differently. To the present writer,

* We may add in a footnote that we observed two old stones built in above a byre door at Boustead Hill House, one a bit of seventeenth or eighteenth century ornament, the other part of a mediæval tombstone with the letters *R]obert' de Carlatur.*

† One would like to suggest that the road is on the top of the Wall, but that seems excluded by our discoveries in Howcroft, and, indeed, the road is covered at spring tides, as we had occasion to note.

‡ I am indebted to Mr. T. V. Holmes, F.G.S., author of the Memoir of the Geological Survey relating to this district, for allowing me to consult him on the point.

it

it seems best, for the reasons given, not to reject as yet the view that the Wall crossed the site of the Marsh. But our real claim is to have proved, so far as present evidence goes, that the Wall did not go round the Marsh.

The following are the details of the trenches marked on Plan :—

Trench 1 shewed the north face of the Wall (footing) coming to a broken end, 30 feet north of a bend in the hedge and 3 feet below the surface. A great mass of loose stones, some obviously Wall stones, was found for 18 feet south from the north face of the Wall; possibly they were heaped up when the canal was cut. Nothing was noticed to support the idea of a turret, in itself not improbable.

Trench 2.—No results.

Trench 3.—Debris only. The southward continuation of the trench was to test a local tradition that the Wall turned southwards here—as we found, an erroneous tradition.

Trench 4.—North face of Wall very distinct.

Trench 5 shewed the fosse, 26 feet from lip to lip, but the north lip was ill-defined, a berme of 24 feet and the Wall, two courses high on the north face, 9 feet 7 inches across from edge of footing to edge of footing.

Trenches 6, 7, 8 shewed debris in line of Wall.

Trenches 9, 10 were off the line, and helped only to prove the deflection of it mentioned above.

Trench 11 shewed a good line of north face, footings only.

Trench 12.—Debris only—Wall apparently robbed.

Trench 13.—Much debris on line of Wall, berme of 24 (?) feet, and fosse 29 feet from lip to lip.

Trench 14.—Footing courses of north face.

Trench 15.—No results—Wall doubtless robbed.

Trench 16 was chiefly north of the fosse. It shewed the north lip of the fosse close to the brick wall dividing Howcroft from a house and garden; the part of this brick wall, which runs east and west, stands

stands over the fosse. The trench was continued 175 feet northwards to test Dr. Bruce's theory that the Wall ran north of the fort; we found that there was here only one ditch.

The excavations on Howcroft and Burgh Marsh were supervised by Mr Booker, Mr Hodgson, and myself.

III.—Walby.

At Walby the line of the Wall appears to make a slight bend, and inside this bend Mr. Mac Lauchlan notes an intrenchment running parallel to the Wall, "very faint, and only seen at the most easterly house." This intrenchment, it was thought, might be a bit of the Turf Wall, and, accordingly, trenches were dug near the most easterly house of the hamlet, occupied by Mrs. Haugh. One trench was taken across an unmistakable dip in the wood just to the west of the house; we went to a depth of 5 feet, entirely through undisturbed soil, except for a modern drain. The other was cut across the Croft Field, immediately east of the house, for a length of 73 feet, but again we found the undisturbed subsoil. As these two trenches covered the line indicated by Mr. Mac Lauchlan, we are obliged to conclude that his faint intrenchment had no ditch, and probably is no intrenchment at all; certainly it is not a bit of Turf Wall.

The opportunity of digging here was utilized to dig in a field east of those just mentioned, a seven acre field called William Croft. Here the modern lane makes a curious turn north, leaving the line of the Wall to go round three sides of a square, and return to the Wall on the other side of the rectangle. This turn has sometimes suggested the idea that a fort or earthwork caused it. Our trenches shewed that this idea is baseless; the ditch of the Wall was found to cross the field in a right line with its general course. The bottom of the ditch was reached at six feet below the present surface, and yielded bits

bits of decayed vegetation, broken freestone from the Wall, and the usual "black matter."

The work at Walby was supervised by Mr. Hodgson and the present writer.

IV.—General Remarks.

The lesson of the past summer is the absolute necessity of excavations to test surface appearances and traditional accounts of the Wall. The lesson has been taught us often before in our six years' work, but the deceptiveness of surface appearances has seldom shown itself so markedly as this year at Drumburgh. Here we have in a grass field an open ditch in the shape of an elbow. The elbow contains an angle, which may fairly be called a right angle if you do not measure it too severely, and its appearance, though not the usual appearance of the Wall and Vallum ditches, can unquestionably be paralleled elsewhere—for instance, in the Vallum ditch just east of Bradley, near Housesteads. It might, therefore, be reasonably taken to represent a Roman ditch, and it has been so taken by nearly all archæologists for two centuries. Yet it has nothing whatever to do with a Roman ditch.

The danger of trusting traditional accounts is no less exemplified here. Mr. Mac Lauchlan describes with some confidence the course of the Wall across the field Howcroft. He adduces a cutting made on the side of the canal and the evidence of a person then alive who ploughed up the remains there. Yet the line laid down on his map and described in his letterpress is seriously incorrect, and wants the striking feature which we have found to characterize the real line.

The lesson thus taught needs to be particularly remembered in dealing with the literature of the Wall, and in particular with the work which we have just mentioned, Mr.

Mr. Mac Lauchlan's "Survey." That "Survey" is the only detailed description of the Wall and Vallum in their minuter features, which has ever been published, and probably the only one which has ever been compiled. It is an admirable work. As I have said elsewhere, it is one of those rare works in which constant use reveals more merits. But, as its author knew well, it has its limitations. It is a surface description of things actually visible and a preliminary to excavation, but in no sense a final account. Over and over again in the course of our work, we have had occasion to admire its accuracy of minute observation. Over and over again, we have had to recognize that its statements about things not actually visible and its interpretations of doubtful remains are erroneous. This would not in the least have surprised Mr. Mac Lauchlan himself. It seems to surprise some who use his book and maps, and, therefore, we have thought it right to use the striking lesson of Drumburgh and its vicinity to point out the true and precise value of a very valuable work. If that work is misused, the advance of Mural investigation will not be accelerated; if it is understood, excavation will receive a substantial impetus and, in some points, an excellent guide.

EXPENDITURE, 1899.

	£	S.	D.
Labour at Drumburgh (including lodging for some of the men) ...	14	9	0
Compensation at the same ...	1	0	0
Labour at Walby	2	1	0
Compensation at Walby	0	5	0
	£17	15	0

Of this total, half was defrayed by the Cumberland and Westmorland Society and half by Oxford subscriptions.

ART. VI. *The Place-name Drumburgh.* By F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., F.S.A.

THE name of the hamlet where the Excavation Committee was chiefly engaged in 1899 is Drumburgh, pronounced Drumbruff. It is an interesting name, for it is in origin Celtic, and Celtic names of inhabited sites have always an interest for Englishmen. The survival of Celtic river-names implies little more than that the river existed in the Celtic period, of which we need no proof. The survival of Celtic names for inhabited sites proves something, though it may not be much, with respect to the population and its distribution before the English came.

The first half of Drumburgh is Drum, the Celtic for a ridge, and is familiar as the first part of many Scotch and Irish names. South of the Border in England it is rarer, and is, indeed, almost unknown, so far as I can learn. Curiously enough, however, there is an example just four and a half miles south of Drumburgh—Drumleaning. This, like Drumburgh, is an old name, occurring as Drumlynane in the *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* for 1425 (3 Henry VI).

The second half of Drumburgh appears at first sight to be genuine Saxon-English, but this is not the truth. The list of spellings, which I append to this article, shew clearly that the original second syllable contained no *r*. The earliest spelling is Drumboc; common early varieties are Drumbou, Drumbogh, Drumbugh. This is genuine Celtic, and, as Prof. Rhys tells me, may be compared with the second element in Dunbuck near Dumbarton, and Dinbych the Welsh name of Denbigh and Tenby. The meaning of this element does not seem to be certain

certain; the identification with a Celtic word meaning "little," which has been put forward by some writers, seems very dubious. It is, however, interesting to observe that there is a Drumboe, spelt Druim-bó in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, in County Down in Ireland.

The Celtic element was early corrupted. Drumbugh was in the Manor of Burgh-on-Sands, and not far from the village of Burgh; it was not difficult to alter the last half of its name to resemble this neighbour. The first instance of this occurs as soon as 1300, the second in 1468, and from the sixteenth century onwards we can watch the assimilated form gradually driving out the original.* John Hodgson is practically the last writer who uses the latter, and it is now seemingly forgotten. The same change, in short, has produced Drumburgh, which has produced the English-looking Dunwich out of the Celtic Domnoc in East Anglia, or which for a while substituted Beaucastle (the beautiful castle) for the genuine Bewcastle.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF SPELLINGS.

[I have to acknowledge assistance from Chancellor Ferguson and Mr. H. S. Cowper in compiling this list.]

1217—1240.—Drumboc. *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, edited by J. E. Prescott, charter 105, p. 194.

1299—1300.—Drumbou, *seventeen times;* Drumbogh, *seven times;* Drumbo, Drombou, Drombogh, Drumburgh *once each. Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobæ*, anno regni regis Edwardi primi xxviii°, anno mccxcix, mccc (Londini 1787) pp. 126, 165, 172-6, 191-216. This volume has no index, and I cannot profess to have searched its multitude of names so minutely as to have missed nothing, but I hope I have not missed much. I have had the original MS. re-examined for the one occurrence of Drumburgh, and find that that spelling is correctly printed from the MS.

*The reverse process never occurs: Burgh-on-Sands is always spelt with *r*.

1307.—Drombogh. Licence to crenellate Richard le Brun's house, mentioned by Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. 30; Whellan's *Cumberland*, p. 149, &c. Their source, which they do not give, is the *Calendar of Patent Rolls* of Edward II, for 1307 (p. 11 in ed. 1894).

1313.—Drombegh. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem* (ed. 1806) i, p. 249.

1342.—Drunbugh, *Carlisle Episcopal Registers* (transcript in the Jackson Library at Tullie House, Carlisle, ii, 507).

1354.—Drumbogh. *Carlisle Episcopal Registers*, iii, 16.

1381.—Drumbugh. *Carlisle Episcopal Registers*, iv, 380.

1397.—Drombough. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, iii, 230 (22 Ric. II).

1418.—Drunbough. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, iv, 27 (5 Henry v).

1425.—Drumbough. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, iv, 84 (3 Henry VI).

1468.—Drumburgh. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, iv. 341 (7 Ed. IV).

1486.—Drumburgh. *Inquisitiones Post Mortem*, Henry VII, i, p. 70 (ed. 1898).

circa 1540.—Drumbuygh, *three times*. Leland ed. Hearne, vii, 47.

1553.—Drumburgh. *Articles devised at Newcastle, September* 12, 6 Ed. VI; William Nicolson's *Border Laws* p. 222 (ed. 1705)=(ed. 1747), p. 152, quoted by Hodgson iii (2), 302.

1589.—Dromboughe, Drombough, Drumbrough, Drumbough, Drombughe, Drumbughe, Dromborough. *Surveys* of the Manor of Burgh-on-Sands, &c, made on the attainder of Leonard Dacre. Printed, with other papers, for a trial in the Exchequer of Pleas between the City of Carlisle and Messrs. Graham and Orman, in reference to a fishery dispute, in 1868; pp. 67, 68, 69, 129, 178, 180.

1607.—Drumbough. Camden's *Britannia*, p. 638. The map, by Wm. Saxton, has 'Drambugh,' which is obviously a mere misprint.

1610.—Drumbugh. *Speed's Map of Cumberland.*

circa 1610.—Drumbugh, Drumbogh. John Denton's *History of Cumberland.*

1685.—Drumburgh, alias Drumbrough, alias Drumbugh. *Lease of the Barony of Burgh*, printed with the papers named under 1589, p. 299. 1691

1691.—Drumbugh, *three times*. *Court Roll of the Barony of Burgh*, printed with the foregoing, p. 316.

1708.—Drumbugh, Drumburgh, each one in twelve lines. W. Pearson, in Stukeley's *Correspondence*, ii, 63, 64.

1720.—Drumbrugh. Morden's Map in Cox *Magna Britannia*

1720.—Drumbugh, *four times*. Cox's *Magna Britannia* (Cumberland); i., 378, 409,.

1732.—Drumbrugh *usually*, *but* Drumbugh *once*. Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, pp. 109, 157, 188, 494. In 1729, in Stukeley's *Correspondence*, iii, 103, 258, Horsley spells Drumburgh.

1749—1765.—Drumbugh, Drumbeugh, Drumburgh. *Estate Maps of Lord Lonsdale.*

1753.—Drumburgh, Drumbrugh. Warburton's *Vallum Romanum* passim, mostly copied from Horsley.

1777.—Drumbugh. Burn & Nicolson's *Cumberland*, ii, 214.

1802.—Drumburgh. Hutton's *Roman Wall*, p. 303.

1816.—Drumburgh *or* Drumbugh. Lysons' *Cumberland*, pp. cxi, 30.

1840.—Drumbogh. Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, iii (2), 302.

ART. VII. *The Parkers of Old Town: with some Notes on the Branthwaites of Carlingill and the Birkbecks of Orton Hall.* By F. H. M. PARKER of Fremington.

Read at Cockermouth, August 24, 1899.

THE PARKERS OF OLD TOWN.

THE following paper, which I have ventured to lay before this Society, is compiled from a collection of notes and papers relating to the history of the Parker family, some part of which, it has been suggested, may be of more than private interest, owing to the long connection of the families referred to in them with the district covered by these *Transactions*.

Previously to the period referred to in this paper, the Parkers had been seated at Old Town, a mansion situated some little distance to the southward of Upper Hesket. Many entries relating to the family are to be found in the earliest registers, but these do not go beyond the Restoration—a fact to be regretted, as they might have afforded information as to the state of the district had they extended to the beginning of the century. North Cumberland suffered several Border raids at that time, notably the "ill week" at Orton, the work of the Grahams; while Hesket was also a sufferer at the hands of Willie Armstrong of Kinmont. The animosity with which Border frays were carried on at this period seems in a considerable measure due to the strong feeling roused by the summary arrest of Kinmont by the English Warden, and the surprise of Carlisle Castle and his release by Buccleugh, which forms the subject of the "Ballad of Kinmont Willie"—so strong, indeed, that it is said to have imperilled James's prospect of succession. James himself

himself was industrious in procuring order; on his succession, he instituted a commission to ascertain the state of the Border lands on the English side. The breviate containing the results, now in the Lansdowne collection, shows their disastrous condition. The land surveyed amounted to 351,130 acres, the number of tenants was 1143; the land was worth by the year at indifferent rates £5,074 12s. 4d., while the rent then obtained was only £302 13s. 6d.

The Warden's action is condemned by Mr. J. H. Metcalfe, the historian of the Scropes, in his recent *Earldom of Wiltes*, though Armstrong had long been a menace to law and order. At the beginning of 1603 Lord Scrope, writing to Cecil, refers to his latest doings :—

Several complaints are submitted to Her Majesty by Rogier Aston "in great bitterness"—(1) for taking Robsay, (2) for forcing Kinmond's house, (3) for another roade on Kinmond.
I reply that Robsay, being, as they say, a Scotsman and servant to Johnston, confessed to myself that he was an Englishman, guilty of nightly burglaries, &c., in my office as appears by the enclosed, and for these had been demanded by me without effect, so I took him by march law. Kinmond being then in the King's prison, I was desired by the King and George Nicholson to assist in apprehending some of his men—viz., one Johnston, who had robbed the King's merchants of £1000 sterling, and with "Sandies Renion" were then in Kinmond's house. Being the murderers of Sir John Carmichael, the late Warden, I thought to do a favour rather than deserve complaint. This Kinmond since his release has spoiled the two towns of Heskettes.

For the present, it is not necessary to go further back than to the Rev. John Parker, who was incumbent of Selside during the last century. He was third son of Christopher Parker of Old Town, brother of Robert Parker, the liberal benefactor of Hesket and other places, whose untimely death through a driving accident is recorded in a memoir of the *Gentleman's Magazine* at the beginning of the present century, and uncle of Thomas Parker

Parker of Warwick Hall, High Sheriff of Cumberland during the reign of George the Fourth, who at his death left a sum of money with which the Infirmary was founded. The last named represented a branch of the family which died out with Mr. Wm. Parker of Skirwith Abbey in 1856.

The Rev. John Parker died in middle life, having filled the incumbency of Selside from 1773 till his death, and acted for some time as curate of Orton under Dr. Burn. His wife, Mary Nelson, was granddaughter of the Rev. Thomas Nelson, M.A., vicar of Orton for some thirty-three years. Of him little seems to be known ; the only graduate of that name recorded in those days is an ex-fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge ; but there is little to connect the two. Her father, John Nelson, married Margaret Branthwaite of Carlingill.

The Rev. John Parker died in 1779, leaving one son and three daughters. The son, Christopher Parker, gave a set of communion plate to the church at Orton. He came to live at Petterill Green after the death of his uncle, Anthony Parker, and filled the post of High Sheriff in 1830. His eldest surviving son, Robert Holme Parker—godson, I believe, of Dr. Edward Holme, the scientist—was father of Mr. Thomas Holme Parker, who was Sheriff of Cumberland in recent years.

Among the children of his second marriage with Margaret Jefferson were the Rev. Christopher Parker of Skirwith, who built the beautiful church in the village there, and had previously been curate of Caldbeck and rector of Great Ormeshead; the late Mr. William Parker of Carleton Hill ; Mr. Francis Parker of Fremington, the last survivor of a large family ; and Nelson Parker, drowned on Christmas Day, 1859, in Australia, in attempting to ford the tidal river Clarence on horseback.

Mr. Christopher Parker married a third time. Of this marriage there was no surviving issue. The third wife was Mary

Mary, widow of Robert Milbourne of Armathwaite Castle, daughter of an unrelated Parker of Moorhouse Hill, who had in 1790 taken the name and arms of Parker, his own name being Field, under the provisions of the will of his kinsman, William Parker of Moorehouse Hill, whose four sons and seven daughters predeceased him by many years. Various particulars relating to the Royal License are quoted in the *Genealogist*.

The Branthwaites of Carlingill.

The name of Branthwaite is one of the oldest in the two counties, having been assumed by a family to whom the Manor was granted by Alan, son of Waldeof. The estates passed out of the family when the heiress married one of the Skeltons, and for some generations nothing of importance is connected with the name.

The family of Carlingill were entitled to bear, Or, on a bend sable three lions *passant guardant* of the field, the blazon of their earlier namesakes. This *prima-facie* evidence of relationship suggests a point of genealogical interest. The older family is stated by Lysons to have received the lands from Alan as the dowry of one of his relatives. Now Alan was, as has been said, son of Waldeof, he the son of Gospatrick, whose father, grandson of the King of Scotland, married Aldgitha, granddaughter of King Ethelred. If, in the absence of particular research, reliance may be placed in this suggested descent, the Branthwaites of Carlingill could claim an ancestry with which few families could vie.

To pass to less speculative ground, we find Robert Branthwaite, settled at Westminster, a person of some consequence in the reign of James the First. He was, we learn from Visitation, gentleman gaoler at the Tower of London. Sir Richard Weston, K.G., appointed him his secretary, when " Lord Treasurer of England for the Irish Affairs."

Affairs." Afterwards he was agent to the Irish Judges, and the State papers record the "warrant of a grant to Robert Branthwaite of the office of constable of Dublin Castle".

He married as his second wife—by his first he appears to have had no child—a daughter of William Carter, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, "in the suburbs of London," and their son, Robert, at the Visitation, registers a pedigree as far as his grandfather. The arms were "Respited for proof, but no proof made." It is curious that Robert does not take this trouble, as the arms were registered in the name of his father, described as "Robert Branthwaite of Westminster, son and heir of Edmond Branthwaite of Carlingill, in Westmoreland." The younger Robert calls his grandfather Edward; I think his attestation is at fault, as the earlier document tallies with the Subsidy Rolls, which mention Edward Branthwaite, in the district of Tebay, Bretherdale, and Langdale, as late as the fourth year of Charles I. The younger Robert married a sister of Sir Thomas Burton of Bampton, and had at the time of the Visitation one child—a daughter. After this the direct line must have died out, as the property came into the hands of a collateral branch.

Under Charles I., Richard Branthwaite was a person of note in the county. He is referred to in a letter written at Penrith during the disturbances in 1644, preserved among the Portland MSS.

Sir William Armyne, Richard Barwise, and Robert Fenwick to William Lenthall :—

We have endeavoured all we can to settle all the people in Cumberland and Westmoreland in their obedience to the King and Parliament, and humbly offer to the consideration of the House the settling of the militia there and the appointing of Sheriffs . . . . and that Justices of the Peace may be appointed for both counties.
We send the names of several gentlemen . . . . that we thought fit to be Justices of the Peace . . . . and from them High Sheriffs for each county may be appointed.

In

In Cumberland—Sir Wilfrid Lawson and William Lawson, Esquire, of Iseild; William Brisco, Counsellor-at-Law, of Crofton; Thomas Cholmely, of Little Salkeld; Mr. Thomas Lamplugh, fit to be High Sheriff; Mr. John Barwise, Mr. Wm. Orfuer, Mr. John Skelton.
In Westmoreland—Sir John Lowther, Bart.; Sir Richard Sandford, Kt.; Col. Edward Brigges, Esq., fit to be High Sheriff; Mr. Richard Branthwaite, Esq.; Jervis Benson, Mayor of Kendal; Gowen Braithwaite, Esq.; Colonel James Bellingham, son to Sir Henry Bellingham; Mr. John Dalston, Mr. Christopher Dudley.

Letters of the committees for compounding refer to him, relating amongst other things to the refunding of considerable sums paid by him for the disbanding of troops.

Possibly he is the Captain Branthwaite to whom Sir Phillip Musgrave refers after the accession of Charles the Second, who is stated to be living at Pendragon Castle.

In the MSS. of the House of Lords there are three letters, possibly from the same Richard Branthwaite.

In the first, dated 8th December, 1642, he complains that he has been a prisoner in the Tower sixteen weeks, to the decay of his health and the harm of his estate, and the estates of others entrusted to him; he prays that he may have the liberty of London, and live in some lodgings near the Temple.

A similar petition at the end of the month appears to have met with a favourable reception, as in February next he desires to be allowed to go to a house of his in Oxfordshire.

The Historical MSS. Commission states that among the Isham MSS. at Lamport Hall are about a dozen letters from Michael Branthwaite at Venice, 1623-4.

The younger branch of the family referred to descended from Edward Branthwaite, who married Isabel Birkbeck. His grandson, Edward, was father of Margaret Branthwaite, who married John Nelson. The younger Edward married Elizabeth Adamson, whose father, Robert Adamson

Adamson, may be the same as the donor of lands for the founding of a school at Grayrigg, while another of the same name founded a grammar school at Tebay. In the present century Rev. John Branthwaite, who was born at Kendal, was successively Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, head master of Lancing College, and Principal of St. Edmund Hall.

The best known bearer of this name was probably William Branthwayte, Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, Master of Caius, and translator of the Apocrypha. His brother Richard, of Lincoln's Inn, was serjeant-at-law; his arms, Or two bendlets ingrailed, occur frequently in the contemporary records of the Heralds' College. This family was seated in Norfolk, but as their ancestor came from "Sedber," which is not far distant from Carlingill, the probability of relationship justifies some mention of them in this connection, though their careers are fully described elsewhere.

The Birkbecks of Orton Hall.

The Birkbecks are usually held to have derived this name from Birkbeck Fells, the neighbourhood from which the various branches of the family appear to have sprung. Long resident in the district—one of the name is mentioned as vicar of Orton in the fifteenth century, another in the State papers of 1587, as counsellor at the time of the disturbances between Francis Dacre and Lord William Howard's friends at Morpeth—they appear to have risen to influence in the county under the Tudors. The Rising of the North may have had something to do with their advancement.

One branch—that of Edward Birbeck, who under Edward VI. was granted Hornby in Brougham, or, as it is described in the subsidies of James I., in "Woodside and Moorhouses"—occurs in Dugdale's visitation. "Birkbeck's"

"Birkbeck's house on Whinfield" is described in the State papers as a place where certain persons suspected of questionable dealings with the Scots are known to have met. Another branch appears in *Familiæ Minorum Gentium* of the Harleian Society.

In addition to these, there existed at Orton a family which was of some note at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and presents a career of at any rate local interest. The history of this family has, I believe, never been the subject of a sketch, though its most important member, George Birkbeck, is occasionally referred to in connection with the old hall which he built.

About this time the "Dacre moiety" of the manor of Orton passed into the hands of co-heirs—Anne, Countess of Arundel, and Elizabeth wife of Lord William Howard —and was sold to Edmund Branthwaite, gentleman, Thomas and James Birkbeck, and Thomas Powley. The Warcops, who owned half of the "Musgrove moiety" of the manor, also sold their share, and George Birkbeck was the largest purchaser.

George and Thomas Birkbeck—the latter probably, after George, the most prominent Ortonian—appear constantly in the Chancery proceedings, which give practically a history of them for at least two generations. George Birkbeck was the most prominent litigant. The first case occurs under Elizabeth. Sir Thomas Wharton, Kt., son and heir of Philip Lord Wharton, claims the lordship and possession of divers lands formerly the estates of Lord Wharton, who had conveyed them to him on condition that he should pay his father's debts. He states that George Birkbeck has unlawfully entered upon these lands under a pretended custom of tenant right.

Another action is commenced by Lord Wharton, who recites that Sir George, his son, died greatly indebted to George Birkbeck and others, that he has undertaken to provide for their payment, and that George Birkbeck and other

other creditors have entered on certain estates belonging to him, availing themselves of this promise.

Sir George was son and heir of the third Lord Wharton, and died in the lifetime of his father, killed in a duel with his friend Sir James Stuart, eldest son of Lord Blantyre. Both combatants lost their lives. Sir Thomas also died in the lifetime of his father, and his elder son succeeded as fourth baron, and was grandfather of the brilliant and reckless Duke—"the scorn and wonder" of Pope's time. The subject matter of the above litigation shows the process of evolution at work.

In the middle of James' reign, George Birkbeck appears as claimant of certain lands at Orton, the title deeds to which, he says, have been obtained by Thomas Birkbeck, the principal defendant, who states that it is his property, part of the purchase of the "Dacre lands."

The case suggests that George's holding has been increased. In the pleadings several "field-names" occur, and one of the Birkbecks is found to have gone as far afield as Uxbridge, where he is living.

George Birkbeck died about the end of James' reign. Shortly afterwards his eldest son Brian files a bill complaining that he has been ousted by his brother Edward, who has got possession of the deeds and other evidences relating to his property.

Next Edward appears himself as plaintiff in a curious case, being unable to obtain the full amount of his wife's marriage portion. She was daughter of Thomas Wharton of Scales, a man of considerable wealth. The eldest daughter had married William Bindloss, whose father was an intimate friend of Whartons. On the death of Wharton, which occurred on a journey, the elder Bindloss, who had been with him, rode to Scales, searched the house, and seized all papers and securities to be found there and at another place of Wharton's at Scalthwaitrigg. Both he and his son on being approached refused to give any

any account of the money, which should be divided between Wharton's three daughters.

Amongst a number of other suits in which the Birkbecks were concerned is one relating to the tenure of certain Abbey lands at Wastdale, one George Birkbeck of Wastallhead appearing as complainant against Richard Crackanthorpp of Newbiggin.

Mr. Crackanthorpe, as part of his defence, says that "King Henry the Eight, by his letters patent, dated at St. Albans, the first day of November, in the 35th yeare of his raigne, did for the consideration of £255 3s. lawful money paid into the Court of Augmentation, by Christopher Crakanthorppe of Newbiggin, in the County of Westmorland, Esquire, and this defendant's ancestor, did give and grant unto the said Christopher Crackanthorppe and his heires and assignees for ever, amongst other things Hardandale in the bill mentioned and Wastdale with their rights, members, and appurtenances, which said Hardandale and Wastdale had been formerlie p'cell of the possessions of the dissolved monasterie of Belleland, otherwise Byland, in the County of York, to have and to hould," &c.

One other Chancery case turns on the history of these Birkbecks, and gives some idea of the extent of George Birkbeck's estate, and the appearance at Orton of the Petty family.

Birkbeck v. Pettie.

(Chancery, 1650.)

Humbly complaigning sheweth unto your honors your Orator, George Birkbeck of Coatflatt, in the p'ish of Orton, als Overton, in the County of Westmorland, yeoman, that George Birkbeck, late of Orton, als Overton aforesaid, Gentleman, your orator's late grandfather, deceased, was in his lifetime lawfully seised in his desmesne as of fee of and in divers lands, ten'ts, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances situate lying and being in Overton, als Orton aforesaid, Raysbecke, and elsewhere, within the said County of Westmorland, called or knowne by the name of Warcoppe lands, which he the said George Birkbecke the grandfather, purchased of Sir John Dalston, Kt., and Talbot

Talbot Bowes, Esq., and alsoe of and in All that Chamber and garth called ffirbancke Garth, which he had purchased of the then right honorable Ann, Countesse of Arundell, situate lying and being in Orton, als Overton aforesaid, And alsoe of and in all that moyetie and one halfe part of a water corne milne, with the appurtenances, called Raysgill Hall Milne, and also of and all those lands, ten'ts, and hereditaments, with the appurtenances, situat lying and being in Houghton. in the County and Bishoppricke of Dunelme, commonly called and knowne by the name of Lingfield or Lingclose. And alsoe of and in the tenement right and custumary estate of all that messuage barne and chamber called Newhall, then in the occupation of George Birkebecke the grandfather, and alsoe of and in one close of custumary ground situate in Langdaile, in the said County of Westmorland, with theire and every of theire appurtenance. And the said George Birkebecke the grandfather being so seised and having an interest to settle and establish his said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, both freehold and custumary, in his name and blood, Hee the said George Birkebecke the grandfather, by deed indented, legally executed under his hand and seall, and bearing date the eleventh day of January, in the fourteenth year of the raigne of our late King James over England, and made between him, the said George Birkebeck the grandfather of the one part, and Jeffery Ward of Raysegill Hall aforesaid, yeoman, of the other part, for and in consideration of the naturall love and affection which he the said George Birkebeck the grandfather, did then beare unto Bryan Birkebecke, his eldest and other his sonnes in the said indenture named, And for divers other considerations in the said deed expressed did for himself and his heires covenant, promise, and graunt to and with the said Jeffrey Ward and his heirs, That he the said George Birkebeck the grandfather, and his heirs should and would stand and be seised of in and uppon all the aforesaid lands, tenements, and hereditaments and premises, both freehold and coppyhold, with theire and every of theire appurtenances, to the use and behoofe of the said George Birkebeck the grandfather, and after the decease of the said George and Margaret, Then of all the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments and premises, both freehold and customary, to the use and behoof of the said Bryan Birkebeck, eldest sonn of the said George, the grandfather, for the term of his naturall life, and after his decease then of the third part of all the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments and premises to the use and behoofe of her that should be the wife of the said Bryan at the time of his decease for the time of her naturall life, and after her decease and the decease of the said Bryan then to the use and behoofe of the first son of the body of said Bryan lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and the heires males of the body of the same first sonne, And for default of such issue then to the use and behoofe of the second, third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth sons of the body of the said Bryan lawfully begotten or to be begotten, and the heires males of the bodeys of the same sonnes respectively one after the other as they shall be in senioritie and age, And for default of such issue then to the use and behoofe of Edward Birkebeck, your orator's late father deceased, third son of the said George Birkebeck, the grandfather, and the heires males of his body lawfully begotten or to be begotten, with divers other remainders over in default of issue, as by the said deed if your orator had the same to produce more fully and at large it doth and may appear. And the said George Birkebeck the grandfather, and Margaret his wife, shortly after the making of the said indenture dyed, and the said lands, tenements, and premises descended and came to the said Bryan Birkebeck

Birkebeck, eldest son of the said George the grandfather, according to the tenor of the said deed. And the said Bryan by virtue thereof entered unto the said lands, tenements, and premises, both freeholds and copyholds, and thereof became seised of an estate for life, the remainder to the heires males of his body as in the said indenture is sett forth and declared. And the said Bryan being soe seised about years since died without issue male of his body.

And your orator's father, Edward Birkebeck, being alsoe dead*, and your orator his eldest sonn and heire now living, All the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments and premises, both freeholds and copyholds, with theire and every of theire appurtenance, are descended and come to your orator by vertue of the said indenture before menconed, and of the statute of transferring uses into possession ought to have the possession of the said lands and premisses, and to receive the rents, issues, and proffitte thereof to his owne use for his, your said orator's life, with remainder after your said orator's death to the use of the heirs males of your orator's body according to the tenure of the aforesaid indenture. But soe it as may please your honors that one Christopher Pettie of Overton als Orton aforesaid gent., has by some indirect means p'cured and gott the said Indentures of Entaile and all other the evidences and writings whatsoever concerning the said lands and premises and into his the said Pettie's custody and possession, and doth pretend and give out that he hath an estate in the said lands and premisses, and by colour thereof has gott into the present possession of some part of said lands and premisses and receives the rents, issue, and proffitte thereof to his his own use and hath so done for divers years last past without giving your orator any accompt for the same notwithstanding he hath been thereto often in a friendly manner required by your orator.

To the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England.

At Dugdale's Visitation, in 1664, the occupant of Coatflatt was Thomas Birkbeck, probably George's brother. By this time, we may assume that the fortunes of the Birkbecks were on the wane. Old George Birkbeck's evident hope that his family should be one of importance was not to be realised. In Burn's time the family appear to have disposed of their share of the Warcop lands, and the Petty monogram in the Old Hall, with the date 1689, shows that even the house that he built himself had passed into the hands of strangers little more than fifty years after his death.

The Historical MSS. Commission prints a petition by Captain John Birkbeck in 1646. The petitioner, who had

* His will, at Carlisle, proved July 22, 1634, mentions George, who gets the Durham property, other sons Thomas, James, and Edward, and Isabel his wife. George was then less than ten years of age.

been

been in service under the Earl of Denbigh, had been arrested for a small debt, which, in regard of the great expenses he had been at in the service of the State, he was disabled to pay till he had received some portion of his arrears. He asked, therefore, for discharge and protection till he should be able to satisfy the debt.

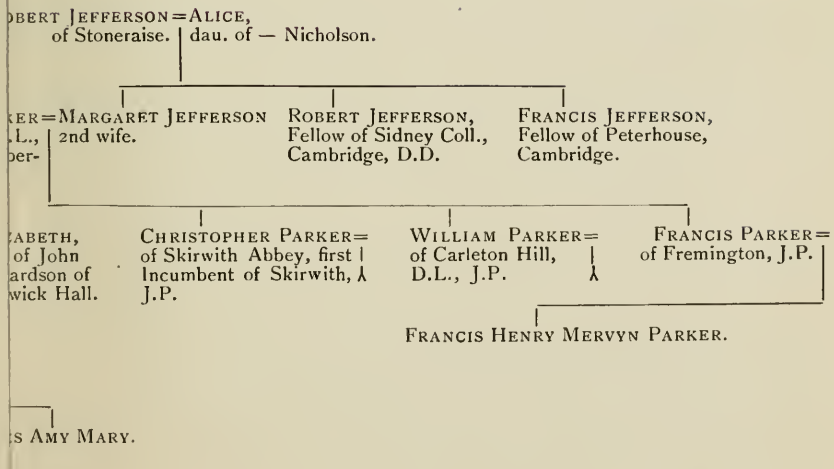
Rev. Robert Jefferson, D.D.

Elder son of Robert Jefferson of Stoneraise and brother of Margaret, second wife of Christopher Parker of Petterill Green. He was fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and proctor; took orders and was appointed King's preacher at Whitehall under George III. and George IV.; he appears in that capacity in the first Clergy List, which was published in 1817. The Duke of Cambridge made him his private chaplain and gave him a signet ring, now in the possession of the Parker family. He was subsequently presented to the College living of South Kilvington, Yorks. The *Gentleman's Magazine* gives an account of him, and also of his brother Francis, who was Fellow of Peterhouse.

About the same time as Francis Jefferson, Robert Birkett was elected Fellow of Emmanuel. His mother was the youngest daughter of the Rev. John Parker of Selside. A few years later his brother John Parker Birkett and his cousin Thomas Parker Bowness were elected at Jesus College. The latter was son of Rev. John Parker's second daughter, who married Rev. George Bowness, many years rector of Rokeby, Yorks.

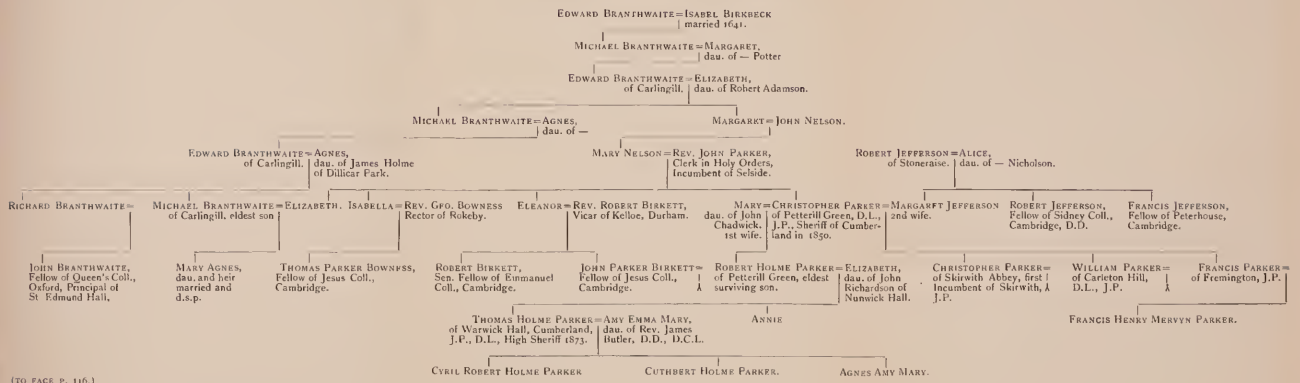
In conclusion, I should like to express my thanks to Rev. H. Whitmore and Rev. E. Holme for their kind assistance, and for permission to examine the Parish Registers of Westward and Orton respectively.

waite, Jefferson, &c.



S AMY MARY.

Outline Pedigree, showing the alliance of Parker with Branthwaite, Jefferson, &c.



(To face p. 116.)

ART. VIII. *The so-called Cockpit at Monk Foss, in the Parish of Whitbeck, Cumberland.* BY W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

Read at Keswick, June 29, 1899.

WEST of Black Combe, where the steep hillside falls into the undulating shore-land, and within view of three great stone-circles, the "High Street" (supposed to be Roman) runs past a row of ancient homesteads. Three of these were known in last century as Hall Foss, Middle Foss, and Monk Foss.

The title-deeds do not carry us far back. Middle Foss, the little farm now thrown into Monk Foss, is named in 1728; and in 1738 "Monkffoss" appears. Its owner, Mr. W. Lewthwaite, wrote the name in his will of 1807 as *Moutefoss* (*sic*)—as though he referred it to a "moat" on the premises; but the name Monk Foss occurs also in the Boundaries of the Manor of Bootle. Whellan says that it "was given by William de Meschines to the Abbey of St. Mary, in Furness, and on the dissolution of that house was granted to the Hudlestones of Millom, who sold it." But in Beck's *Annales* we find that soon after the foundation of Furness Abbey (1127), Godard Dapifer de Boyville of Millom gave the monks a carucate in *Fossa*; this being their very first holding outside the original grant from Stephen; and in 1153 the bull of Pope Eugenius III. mentions "dimidium Fosse" as belonging to the Abbey. *Fosse* is, of course, in mediæval spelling, for "Fossæ." Then in 1242 Adam de Mulcaster exchanged Brotherilkeld for Foss; and in the Taxation of Pope Nicholas no Foss appears among the Abbey's possessions.

This seems to relate to Monk Foss, because (*a*) the Lord of Millom gave it, (*b*) the Lord of Muncaster got it, and

and (*c*) the name of Monk Foss, as opposed to Hall Foss, must denote their "dimidium Fosse."

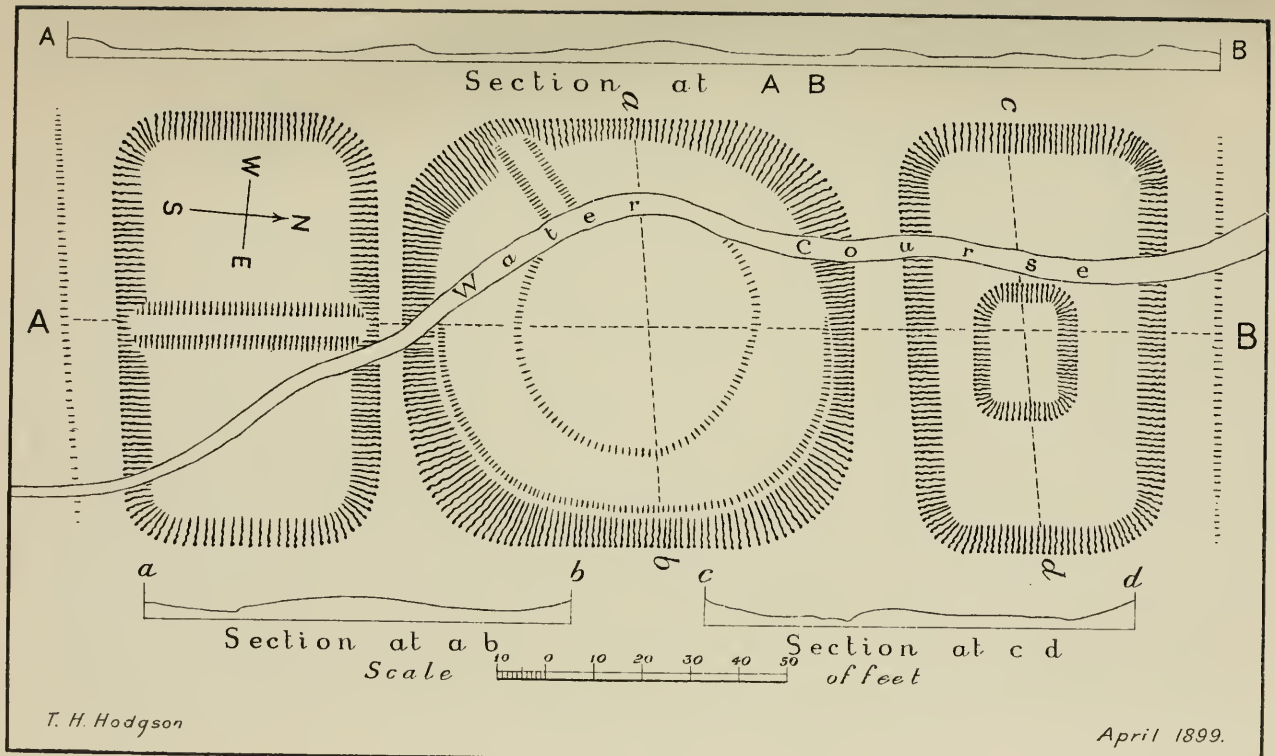
Another Foss was given with Little Urswick in exchange for Crivelton (Newton) in the time of Abbot John (who died about 1175); the bargain being concluded in Abbot Jocelin's time, about 1185; but this must have been a different place (*Coucher Book*, p. xxxvii.).

It seems, then, that early in the 12th century there was an estate between Bootle and Whitbeck called *Foss*. The name might possibly be the old Norse *Fors*, "a waterfall," now "force" in the Lake District dialect, and *foss* in Icelandic and Norse, for there are several gills with forces in them coming down from Black Combe. But local tradition is against this meaning; and when our attention was called to the "Cockpit" by Mr. J. A. Banks, of the Ordnance Survey, we thought that this, and its associated remains, might be the Fossa, or dug-out place, which gave name to the estate.

With permission from the owner, Mr. Francis Barratt, through the kindness of Messrs. Arnold & Greenwood, his agents, and with help from Mr. Henry Crayston, the tenant, we dug a series of trenches in April, 1899, to see if there were any remains of building.

The spot seemed a likely one for an early settlement. It is a little dell or lap of ground, between a long esker or glacial mound and the steep side of Black Combe, sheltered from sea-winds, supplied with the best spring water in the neighbourhood, and just the site for an early settler. There seemed to be remains of stone walls at *c* and *d* and *b* in the accompanying plan, drawn by Mr. T. H. Hodgson from his most careful original survey; and the analogy of the lower moat at Aldingham suggested the possibility of some ancient moated dwelling.

But we found that the walling at *c* was only the support of a cart-track that runs beside the ditch *c d*; and the great stones at *d* and *b* had never formed part of a wall, but had merely been rolled aside to clear the basins *c d* and



To Face P. 118.

MONK FOSSE.

and *a b*. In the platforms that stand up in the middle of the central basin (the "Cockpit") and the northern basin, as well as in the dykes that contain them, there were no traces of building, nor even remains of wooden structure. The whole had been thrown up with the spade to form three water-tight ponds, which, it happened, could be easily formed, because this lap of peaty ground was overlaid with a bed of stiff blue clay, 18 inches thick at the northern end of the area covered by the plan and thinning out to nothing at the southern end, where the ground is slightly higher.

From a point 400 feet south of the south basin, a stream has been diverted and brought to the south-east corner of the highest pond. This channel is now continued irregularly through the whole of the basins in the "watercourse" which partly drains them; but in former times they might have been kept full of clear water, perhaps for fish. The southern basin has a slight causeway across it, which does not seem to be anything more than a strip of ground that has been left not dug. The central basin, called the Cockpit, has a round platform in the middle, made like the dykes by throwing up the clay and peat out of the ditch, and there is a slight appearance of a causeway leading to this platform from the south-western side. The northern and lowest basin has a similar, but oblong platform, and is contained by the strongest of the dykes (B).

We found no relics, but our digging showed that the place was not a homestead. Nor was it made for a Cockpit, being too large and too wet, besides being associated with remains that would have been useless for that purpose. It looks like a set of fish-ponds, and *Fossa*, in mediæval Latin, had that meaning. But this hardly gives the origin of the 12th century name of the estate, if it be the *dimidium Fosse* given by Godard de Boyville to Furness Abbey. We can only put our diggings and survey on record, and hand the question on.

ART. IX. *The Pitch-pipes of the Rural Deanery of Gosforth.* By the Rev. W. Slater Sykes, M.A.

Read at Keswick, June 29th, 1899.

THE history of the old pitch-pipes that were used in many of our Parish Churches is in very nearly every case closely connected with the duties of the clerk, and these were manifold, as an old clerk in Derbyshire used often to say :—

> " I, Richard Furness, schoolmaster, Dore,
> Keep parish books, and pay the poore ;
> Draw plans for building, and indite
> Letters for those who cannot write ;
> Make wills, and recommend a proctor,
> Cure wounds, let blood with any doctor ;
> Draw teeth, sing psalms, the hautboy play
> At chapel on each holy-day ;
> Paint sign boards, cart names at command,
> Survey and plot estates of land ;
> Collect at Easter, one in ten,
> And on the Sunday say ' Amen.' "

My attention was first drawn to these pipes by inquiry concerning two in Millom Church (Holy Trinity), and the first information I received was a story of amusement said to have been caused to the congregation by a very audible whisper from the clerk. On one occasion, when a hymn or chant should have been started, there was a long pause, the clerk was seen struggling with the pipe, blowing into it and shaking it, but no sound came. A member of the choir got impatient, and cried to the clerk :—

" Pyke' tune, man, pyke' tune."

But the old man in very bothered tone replied :—

" Ah can't ; pipe's fu' o' moock."

The

The pitch-pipes of this Rural Deanery are for the most part of square shape, that of Bootle (Plate II., Figs. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) may be taken for illustration. It consists of four boards of mahogany, 27 by $2\frac{5}{8}$ by $\frac{1}{4}$ inches, pinned together, and bound with brass plates to form a body (Fig. 4, *a*). The upper end of the tube thus formed is closed by a stop end (Fig. 8, *b*),* which, in this case, is a cube of wood out of which a section has been cut to form the air chamber (*c*). The air passes into it by the mouthpiece (*d*), and thence over the base of the chamber, which is slightly cut away for the purpose, to reach the vent (Fig. 4, *e*), where it strikes the lower lip *(f)*. The air chamber is covered by a section of the body—in some cases movable—which is called the upper lip *(g)*†. The slide or stick (Fig. 5 and Fig. 6, *h*) is usually roughly fitted to the body,‡ but to prevent any escape of air is provided at its upper extremity with a plug (Fig. 6, *j*), in this case of wood, bound with soft leather, but oftener of cork (Fig. 2 in the same plate). In the case under description, the slide is much smaller than the size of the body, because of the weight and to prevent side motion is wedged at the lower end of the body. The slide terminates in a knob or handle (Fig. 7 and Fig. 4, *k*). In Fig. 7 it will be noticed a bar has been dovetailed in at *p*, to prevent the slide being driven against the upper lip and stop end. The scale of notes is engraved upon a slip of metal (Fig. 5, *m*) sunk and pinned into the slide.

Beckermet.—No. 1—There are two pipes here, one square, the other round. The first (Plate I., Figs. 1, 2, 3) is made of bay wood, $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length when closed. The body (Fig. 1) is $15\frac{3}{4}$ inches × $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches × $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The upper lip has been made to slide, but afterwards fastened with pins. The mouthpiece (Fig. 3) is

* Whitbeck Plate III., Fig. 3, gives an interesting pattern of stop end.
† Millom Plate V., Fig. 1, the upper lip consists of a slip of ivory inserted between the cover and the body.
‡ Ulpha Plate VI., Fig. 2, still shows the saw marks.

formed

formed by bevelling off the body and filling up with a stop end, the shape of which cannot be ascertained. It is carefully bound with waxends.

The slide (Fig. 2), $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches × 1 inch × 1 inch, is of deal, stained red to match the body; the lower end terminates in a plain knob, the other has held a cork plug, fastened on with a dowel and wedge. The scale is somewhat roughly marked upon a strip of lead sunk into the slide.

The date of the last use of this instrument is very accurately remembered—November 22nd, 1860—as on the following Sunday a harmonium, presented to the parish, was used for the first time.

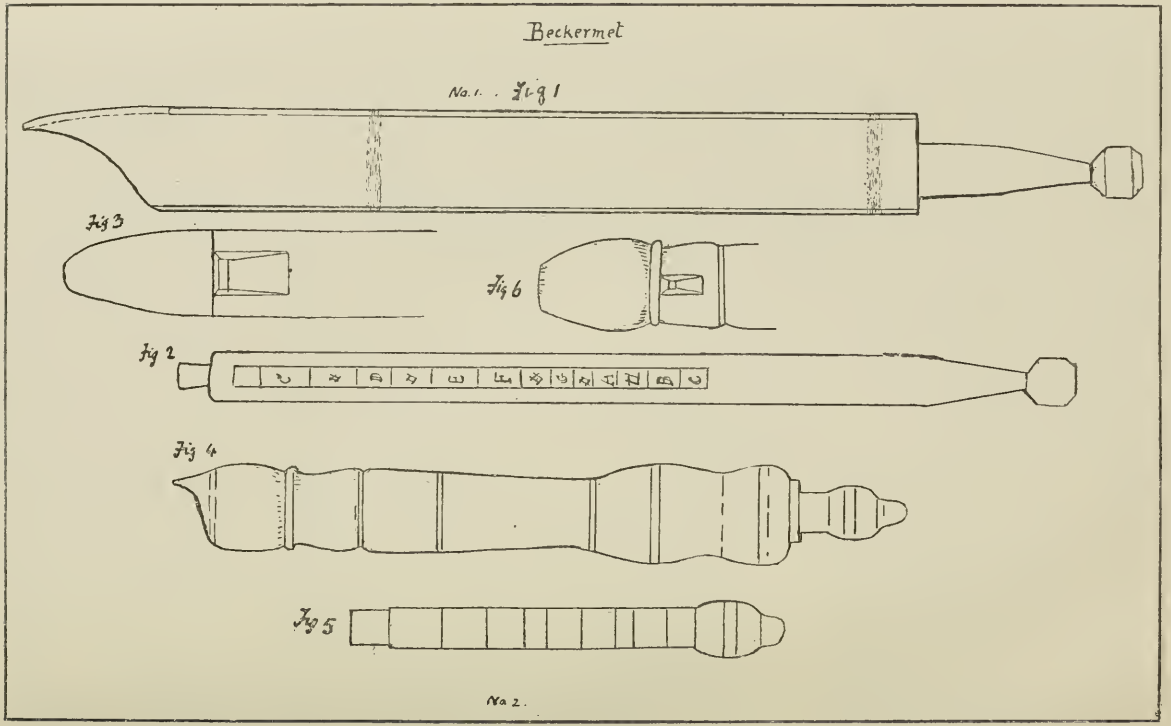
The pipe is now in the hands of the Misses Bewley, whose father was clerk from 1847-1886. It was handed on to him by his predecessor, Mr. Thomas Kirwen, about whom is told a little story. On one occasion, he tried to start the tune of a hymn three times, getting either too high or too low on each occasion; after the third attempt he banged the book down on the desk, and, looking up to the clergyman in the desk above him, exclaimed in a tone of great disgust—

"Ga' on."

No. 2—The round pipe (Plate I., Fig. 4, 5) is believed to be much older than the other; it is made of apple or beech and has been finely turned, but it is now much disfigured by many wrappings of cobbler's waxends because of a split. It is 12 inches long over all when closed, and varies from $1\frac{1}{8}$ to $1\frac{5}{8}$ in diameter. The stop end is of some white wood—holly, I think, but in many cases I have found it very difficult to judge the precise wood. The slide is of old mahogany; the scale is lost, except that concentric lines mark the places. Originally the notes were printed or written on a slip of parchment and glued on to a place prepared for them. There was no plug, but the end was bound with a washer of tow and worsted.

Bootle.—Here again there are two pipes in existence. No. 1, (Plate II., Figs. 4-8). Of this no one in the parish seems to have any recollection. After the death of the late rector, Rev. S. W. Watson, it was noticed hanging up in the vestry by the Vicar of Waberthwaite, who had occasion to visit the church. It is by far the largest in the Rural Deanery that I have seen, although a lead one that used to be at Whicham must have been very like it in size. When closed it measures 2 feet $11\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The body (Fig. 4) is 28 inches × $2\frac{3}{4}$ square. It is made of mahogany and bound with brass, one broad plate at the lower end remaining, a narrower band at the other end, together with the upper lip, has disappeared.

The



PITCH PIPES.—PLATE I.

The slide (Fig. 5) is 23 inches × $\frac{7}{8}$ inch square, terminating in a very clumsy plug (Fig. 6, *j*), covered with fine soft leather. The other end has been rounded to form a handle. The scale is very neatly engraved on a slip of brass, sunk and pinned to the slide.

The vent is very wide, $2\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The stop end, air chamber, and mouthpiece (Fig. 8, *b*, *c*, *d*) are evidently a copy of those of Millom No. 1 (Plate V., Fig. 3), but to my mind a clumsy imitation. The body of the pipe has at some time been painted green.

No. 2 (Plate III., Figs. 4, 5, 6)—This pipe is in very fragile condition and unless cared for soon will be altogether broken and lost. It is made of a dark red wood, and is $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches full length. The body (Fig. 4), $14\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$, is finely dovetailed together. The mouthpiece and stop end (Fig. 6) are bevelled off to $\frac{3}{4}$ inch; unfortunately some parts have been lost, so that it is not possible to compare the air chamber with that of Whitbeck, to which the pipe bears strong resemblance. The slide (Fig. 5) is 16 inches long, including the cork plug; it tapers off at the opposite end and is finished by a pear-shaped knob.

The scale is of boxwood and the notes appear to have been punched out rather than carved. The half notes are marked by faint lines.

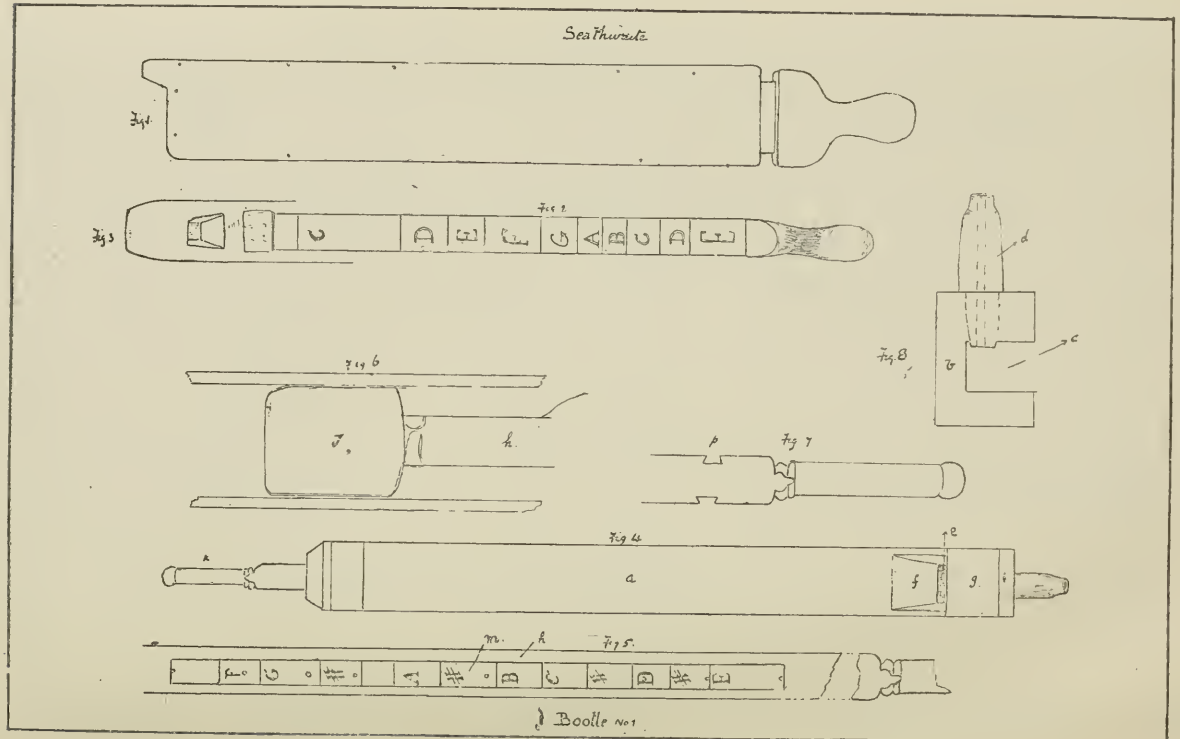
For reasons given under the heading of Whicham, I am inclined to think that this pipe was of local make and of date subsequent to the year 1839. It has been a very good instrument and it is a great pity that of late years it has been so poorly cared for, but this remark does not apply more to Bootle than many other places.

Calder-Bridge.—No information obtainable.

Corney.—There is no pipe in existence.

Drigg.—There is no pipe in existence.

Eskdale.—On inquiry at Eskdale I was told that there was a very good one in the parish and indeed it is. But after long and patient hunt I found that the pipe, which is in private hands, probably belongs to Lowther. The visit to the parish, however, was very fortunate; information from the vicar's warden induced me to go to Gosforth and make inquiry from a former clerk's daughter, Mrs. John Wilson, now resident at Gosforth Gate. Her son, to whom I spoke first, hardly knew what a pitch pipe was, but the mother went to an old cupboard and brought out a pipe (Plate IV., Fig. 1, 2, 3) in very perfect condition and of good tone. She told me that her father, who was born at the King of Prussia Inn and afterwards lived at Sword House, Austhwaite, was appointed clerk of Eskdale about 1830 A.D. He filled many offices, from drawing up of wills



PITCH PIPES—Plate II.

wills, to vaccination, for which purpose he made his own vaccine. It is about 30 years since he ceased to perform the duties of clerk, but till that time the pipe was often seen in his hands. He kept it at his own house, on top of the case of a fine old grandfather's clock. In that way, it is to be presumed, it came to be considered his own property—as he was clerk 40 years. Mrs. Wilson seems to value the pipe very highly as having been used so often by her father, but it is to be hoped she will at some time restore it to its proper parish.

It is a very perfect specimen and its tone as good, if not better, than any other in the Rural Deanery. It is made of bay wood, $14\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$, tapering almost to a point for mouthpiece. The upper lip has been made to slide, but is now fastened by pins. The body has been carefully bound with waxed thread to strengthen it and the lower end bound with iron.

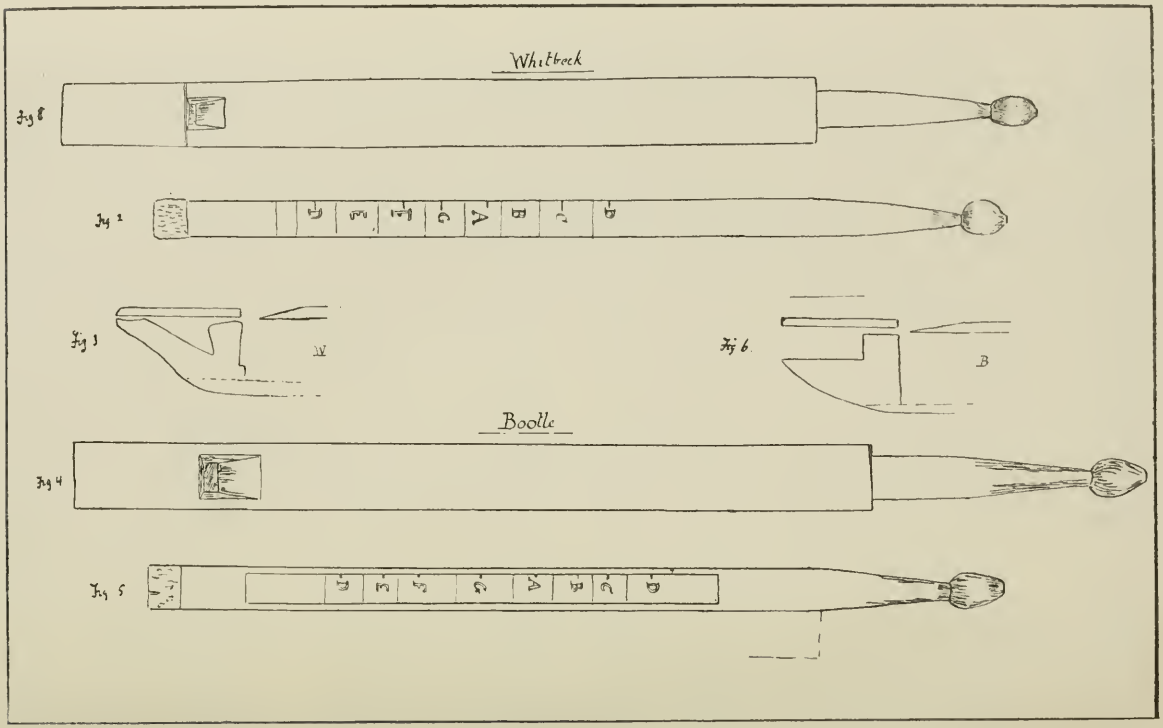
The slide (Fig. 2) is of deal, $14\frac{3}{4} \times 1 \times \frac{3}{4}$, stained red to match the body; the scale is of lead, with notes and half notes engraved upon it.

In *Rural Deanery of Gosforth*, by Rev. A. G. Loftie, is stated that "a new pitch pipe" was bought. The vicar, Rev. R. H. Snape, gives the quotation thus:—"May 25th, 1832—New pitch pipe and books binding, 9s 9d;" but in the same year a few lines earlier occurs this also:—"To repairing organ by Mr Leach, £6 10s." So that it would appear that like Gosforth, their great rival in all matters of music, they had shortly before this obtained a 'barrel-organ,' but that some great calamity had befallen it and they had returned to their 'first love.' They got a new pitch pipe in the interval before repairs could be made.

Gosforth.—(Plate IV., Fig. 4, 5.)—This pipe can hardly be said to exist. All that is left of it is the bottom board of the body and part of the slide. These, however, show that it was nearly four-square in girth, and in shape closely resembling Bootle No. 2. It was made of bay wood and the slide of mahogany. The total length when closed would be about 19 inches. The scale is like that of Bootle No. 2 (Plate III., Fig. 5), of some white wood, probably box; but the notes and half notes are only marked in ink, though the divisions are deeply scored from side to side.

By an old resident to whom I was introduced by Rev. Rees Keene, I was told that a Mr. Shepherd, who was clerk 64 years ago, used it in the Sunday School held in the vestry. It was not used in the church in his day, because the parish owned a barrel-organ.

In Mr. Loftie's *Rural Deanery of Gosforth*, it is stated that "a barrel-organ was presented in 1828 by Mrs. W. Senhouse . . . . The use of the barrel-organ was discontinued in December, 1868, and



PITCH PIPES.—Plate III.

and an American organ lent by the Rector, James Albert Cheese." A later clerk, Mr. Wallace Roan, had a great reverence for the old instrument and noticing its bad condition took it home to repair, but died without carrying out his intention. It has lain in his (and successor's) shop for 18 years, during which time, I suppose, the other loose pieces got squandered. His widow has since my visit restored the remnants to the church and the rector proposes to have it reconstructed so that it may for the future be properly preserved. If he does so, I would respectfully suggest that he have the Eskdale pipe for a model, but with a square mouthpiece.*

HAILE.—No pipe in existence. No information.

IRTON.—No pipe in existence.

MILLOM.—There are two pipes at the Parish Church, one apparently much older than the other.

No. 1 (Plate V., Fig. 1, 2, 3)—This is of oak, made of four slips of wood, pinned together and bound with brass; total length, 18 inches. The body is $13\frac{3}{8} \times 1\frac{7}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$.

The stop end (Fig. 3) forming the air chamber is cut out of a piece of Spanish mahogany and the mouth piece and upper lip are of ivory.

The slide (Fig. 2) also of oak, terminates in a small square knob and is $13\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length. At the upper end a plug of cork is nailed on, to make it fit tightly.

The scale is a slip of brass sunk and pinned into the slide and the notes and half notes carefully engraved upon it. On the opposite side a strip of leather has been nailed on.

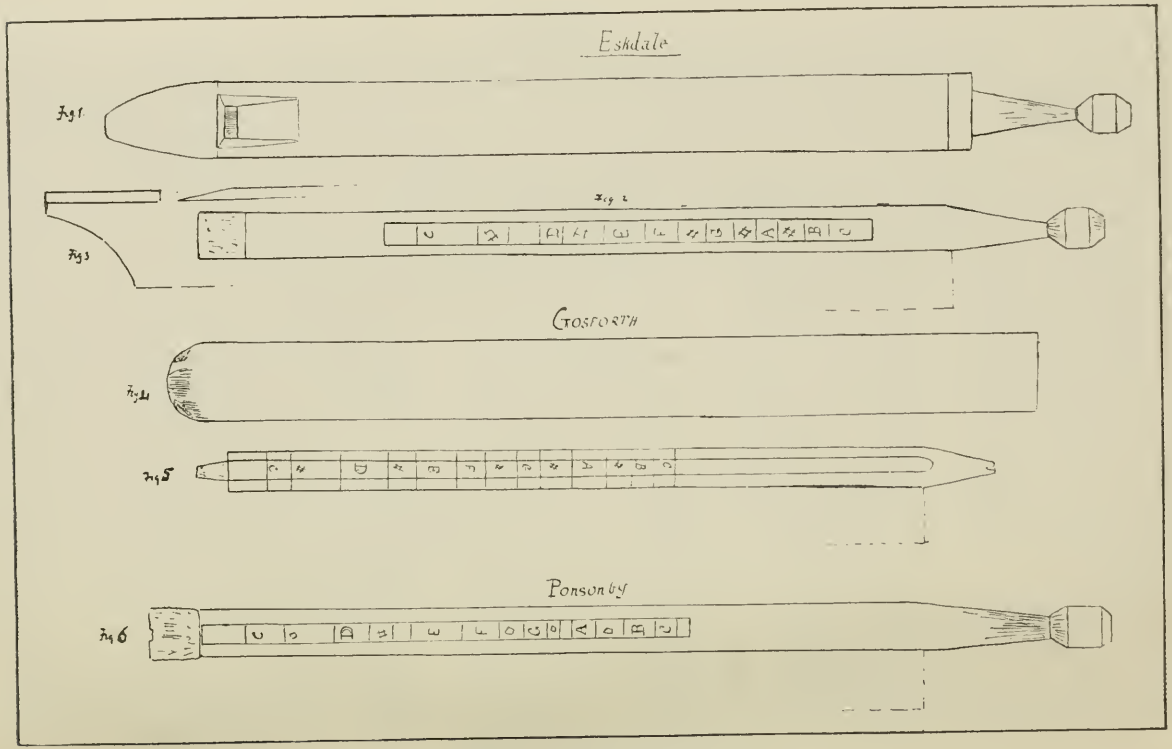
This is I think the most highly finished instrument in the Rural Deanery and has been made by some first-rate workman of a good firm of musical instrument makers, but it bears neither name nor date.

No 2 (Plate II., Figs. 4, 5, 6)—This is made of applewood, properly turned on a lathe; it is ornamented with concentric lines and a figure marked out with compasses, but not carved. The total length when closed is 17 inches, and the diameter $1\frac{7}{8}$, increasing to $2\frac{1}{2}$ at the bulge. The notes are marked by letters printed on small squares of parchment pasted into thumb nail notches. Several attempts have been made at notching before the correct places were discovered.

The slide (Fig. 5) is of different wood to the body, probably sycamore, it is 13 inches long by $1\frac{1}{8}$; it terminates in a well turned

* The line of parish clerks as far back as can be remembered includes following names:—Messrs. Benson (died 80 years ago), Jno. Stamper, Gamford, John Shepherd, Hy. Sherwin, Roan, John Watson. In Rev. H. Bragg's time the clerk Benson used to stand on one of the tombstones in the churchyard as the people came out of church to call out parish notices, boons, fairs, &c.

knob



PITCH PIPES—.Plate IV.

knob. The opposite end has been deeply grooved and a plug made of worsted and tow. Some threads of an old blue stocking still remain.

Of these No. 1 was frequently used by Mr. Richard Noble, who was appointed clerk, April, 1826. Some of the old people remember him in his later days; he got very infirm and walked with two sticks. It took him a long time to get from his place in the three decker pulpit to the gallery at the west end of the church, but he used to fill up the time as he stumped along by giving out all the parish notices of things found or lost, of sales and such matters; at other times starting earlier he would halt in his walk to utter the proper responses and amens in their places and then proceed.

Unhappily in the church accounts the "Church-Mesters" had the knack of grouping several things together, so that in accounts presented June 29th, 1827, it is difficult to rightly understand item "Wm. Bleasdle & Pych Pipe £1 12s. 6d."

Wm. Bleasdle's name does not occur in a list of ratepayers of about that date, nor indeed in any other list of inhabitants of Millom, that I have ever seen. So that I am inclined to think that it might be read "To Wm. Bleasdle for a Pych Pipe £1 12s. 6d." Though the amount seems a good deal, Thwaites paid nearly as much for theirs, but theirs is not exactly a pipe.

There is another entry a few years later, 1834-5, which shows that they also followed the prevailing custom and bought a barrel organ.

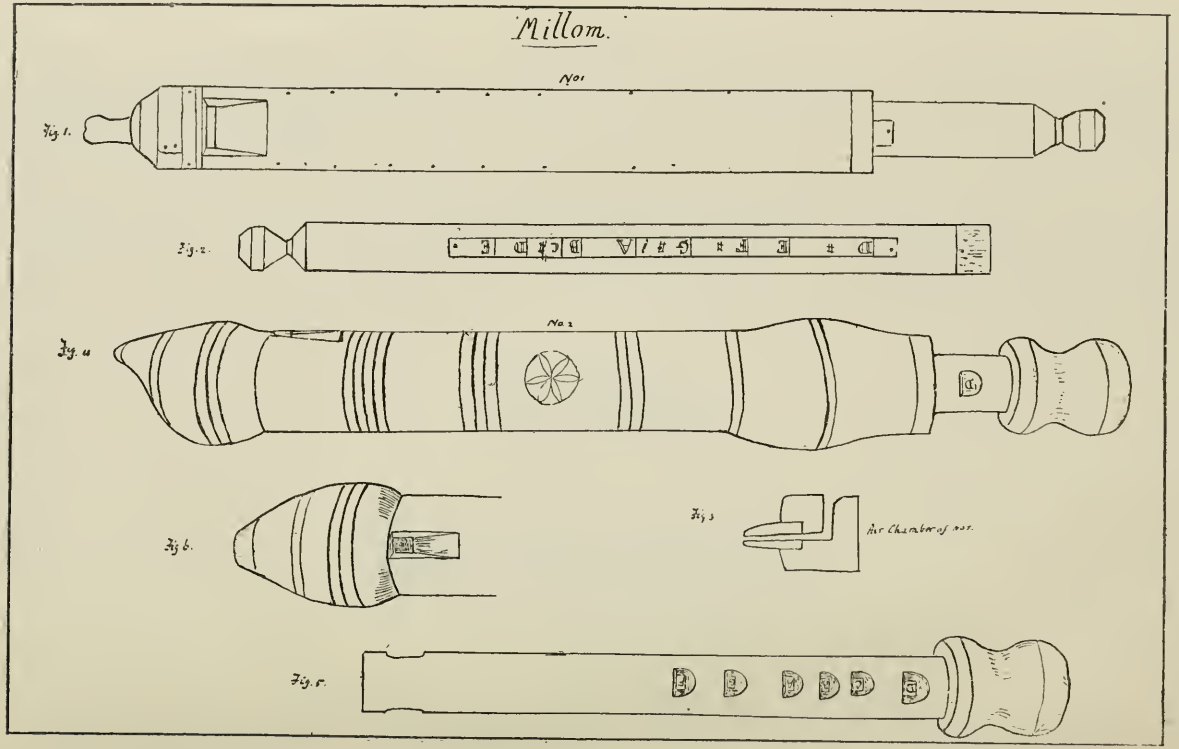
Joseph Parks, Acct.—"A journey to enquire after a person to repair the organ. 1/-."

Later again mention is made of the organist, "Ap. 27, 1838, to Thomas Braithwaite, organist's salary £1 6s."

Of the use of No. 2, I can obtain no information. Very few people know of its existence, although along with the church tinder box it has lain on top of a cupboard in the Vestry for many years. But since the square one was always used by the clerk Noble, and one was bought when he entered the office and again but few years after the barrel organ came into use, it seems necessary to conclude that this is much the older.

Muncaster.—This parish at one time possessed a barrel organ, but I can obtain no information about a pitch pipe.

Ponsonby.—(Plate IV. Fig. 6)—The only remains are a slide of deal wood, stained red. It measures $15\frac{3}{4} \times 1 \times \frac{3}{4}$. The pipe must have been very like that belonging to Eskdale. The cork is fastened on with a wooden dowel. The scale is of lead like Eskdale and Beckermet (1). The existence of this pipe (?) was entirely forgotten; but the churchwarden on being asked remembered seeing something



PITCH PIPES.—Plate V.

something like what was described to him, in the vicarage loft; it had been there for 20 years at least. It is about 40 years since it was last used.

Seathwaite (Plate II., Fig. 1, 2, 3).—I am informed that I am a few years too late to obtain any particulars about this pipe. It had been in the possession of one man for upwards of 60 years, but he died recently and no one else knows anything about it. I do not however think that its age is much greater than 60 years, it has a decidedly new look about it and has been very little handled. It is made of light oak and is well varnished and but for its unusual shape, appears of no great interest. I should think that it is of local make, possibly by a village joiner.

When closed it measures over all 15 inches × 2 × 1 ¼. There is no scale but the letters are cut into the stick without any uniformity of size, and darkened with black lead.

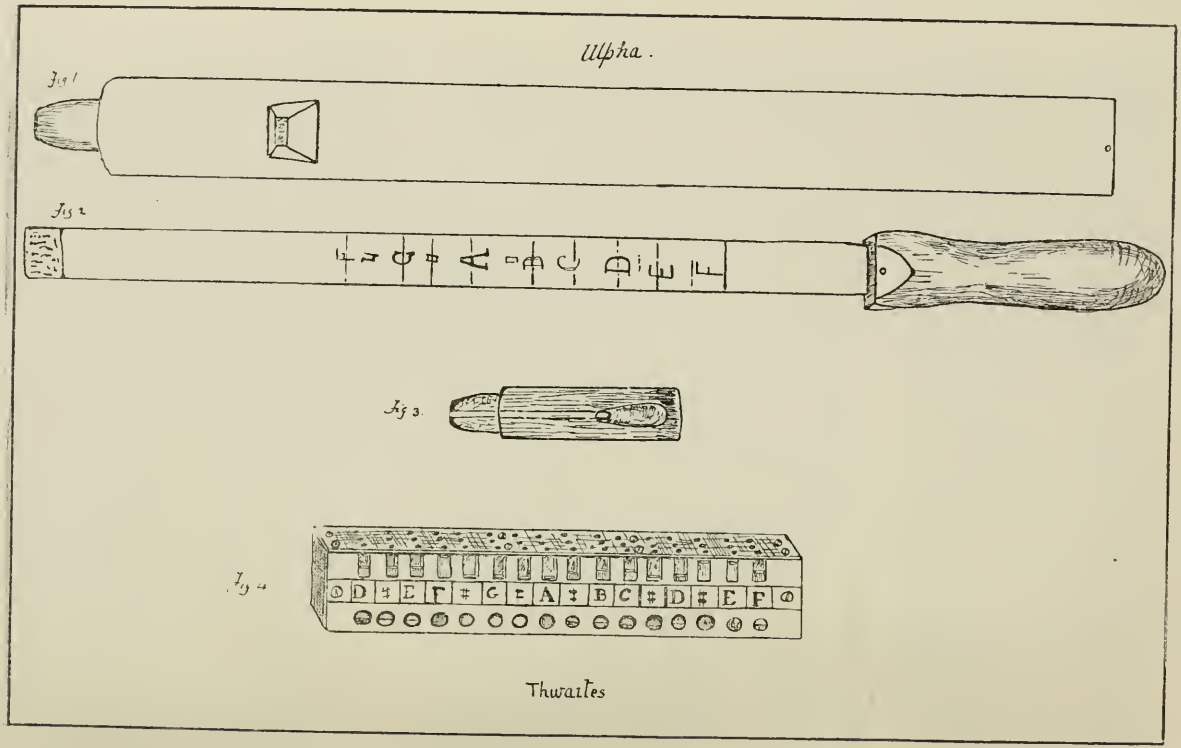
Thwaites (Plate VI., Fig. 4)—The musical instrument formerly in use here is not a pipe at all, but is more like what I believe is called an Harmonicon. It is 7¾ inches long by 1¼ square. It is made of mahogany with boxwood mouthpiece and brass back with 3 rows of vent holes for each note. On the mouthpiece are also engraved the notes and half notes, below each is a separate blow hole which can be closed by a brass clip. These clips are somewhat difficult to shew in the drawing but the general idea may be best seen there.

I am informed that it was purchased from a pedlar for the sum of 30/- by Messrs. George Newton and Richard Kitchen. The latter was uncle to the present clerk of Millom, he died June, 1839. The instrument then remained in the hand of Mr. George Newton, clerk of Thwaites and singing master of the church. From him it came into the possession of his nephew, Mr. G. N. Warbrick, Yeoman, of Bridge End, The Green, Millom.

Ulpha (Plate VI., Fig. 1, 2).—This is somewhat similar to Millom No. 1, but of clumsier make. The body (Fig. 1) of oak is 16½ × 1⅝ × 1⅝. The stop end and mouthpiece (Fig. 3) are cut out of one block of wood. The vent is unusually low down. The slide (Fig. 2), also of oak, is 18½ inches long, and the length over all 22¾. The handle is unlike any other in the Rural Deanery. The notes and three half notes are carved into the wood.

Waberthwaite.—There was one here 60 years ago, when Mr. Ben Jackson was clerk. After his death his family removed to Aspatria, but whether they took the pipe with them I have no information.

But here, I may mention, that at a sale in Bootle some 10 years ago, a pipe was sold to a curiosity dealer from Carlisle, for about £2.



PILCH PIPES.—PLATE VI.

A local gentleman tried to obtain it, but had to give way before the dealer. I expect that it would belong to either Waberthwaite or Corney.

Wasdale Head.—From two sources I have heard there used to be one here, but it has been searched for in vain. A former resident now living in Ponsonby positively declares that it was like a flute, "wi' the blow hole a laile bit a' one side."

Nether Wasdale.—There was a pipe in use here 50 years ago, but no further information can be given.

Whicham.—It is distinctly remembered that there used to be three pipes belonging to this parish, but so far, I have not been able to trace them. They were last seen some 10 years ago lying in the window bottom at the west end of the church.

They were (1) of lead, very heavy.
(2) square shaped, of wood.
(3) round, turned on a lathe.

No. 3 was made by Mr. Weeks, joiner, of Bootle, prior to the year 1847, when a man called Todhunter was engaged to instruct the village choir. Todhunter came from Dearham and gave instructions to Bootle choir one week end and Sunday, Whicham the next.

This pipe, as also that of Whitbeck, was made of dark red wood, which my informant, the present clerk of the parish, Mr. W. Knight, calls Brazil wood. He says that in 1839, a vessel called "The Vernon," a trader between Liverpool and Glasgow, came ashore opposite Southfield, Silecroft. Part of its cargo was logwood and this red wood, which was used all over the neighbourhood for fancy articles. It was in billets about four feet long. A Kirby man got some of it to try whether it would do for fiddlesticks.

Bootle pipe No. 2 seems to be made of the same red wood as Whitbeck. It seems a little finer in the grain and more brittle than the mahogany or bay wood of other places.

My informant thinks that Whicham No. 1, the lead pipe, was made in Ulverston.

Whitbeck (Plate III., Fig. 1, 2, 3).—This pipe is made of dark red wood, called above Brazil wood. It is 18 inches full length when closed. The body (Fig. 1) is $13\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$. The four boards are carefully dovetailed together and glued. The upper lip is made to slide, and the stop end (Fig. 3) is curiously cut out of a solid piece of wood to form the air chamber.

The slide (Fig. 2) is $15\frac{3}{4} \times 1 \times \frac{5}{8}$, the notes being carved into the wood and the cork plug at the end fastened on with a plate of copper and a screw. The knob at the opposite extremity is pear shaped like that of Bootle No. 2.

The

The clerk of Whicham, formerly also of Whitbeck, tells me that it was made by Mr. Weeks, joiner, of Bootle, out of the wood washed ashore from "The Vernon."

There are two other pipes in the Deanery:—

(1) Formerly in the possession of a vicar of Winster.

(2) Formerly in the possession of a clerk of Lowther.

It seems difficulty to try and classify these pipes and yet there is evident connection between several of them. They may perhaps be grouped thus:—

Group I.—Beckermet (2), Plate I., Fig. 4, date prior to 1832.
Millom (2), Plate V., Fig. 4, date prior to 1826.
These seem connected in general form and in manner of making a plug; also, perhaps, stop end.

Group II.—Millom (1), Plate V., Fig 1, possible date 1826.
Bootle (1), Plate II., Fig. 4 } later copies.
Ulpha, Plate VI., Fig 2 }

Group III.—Beckermet (1), Plate I., Fig, 1.
Ponsonby, Plate IV., Fig. 6.
Eskdale, Plate IV., Fig. 1.
Evidently made by the same hand, the last of date 1832.

Group IV.—Gosforth, Plate IV., Fig. 4, 5, the model of much older date, prior to 1828.
Whitbeck, Plate III., Fig. 1.
Bootle (2), Plate III., Fig. 4.
One of Whicham.
The latter three by the same maker, Mr. Weeks, of Bootle, subsequent to the year 1839.

Unclassified—Seathwaite.

I may add that in one case at least (Beckermet) it has been found quite possible to play a proper hymn accompaniment, so that they were very likely used for giving a choir some previous instruction, as well as pitching the note in the church.

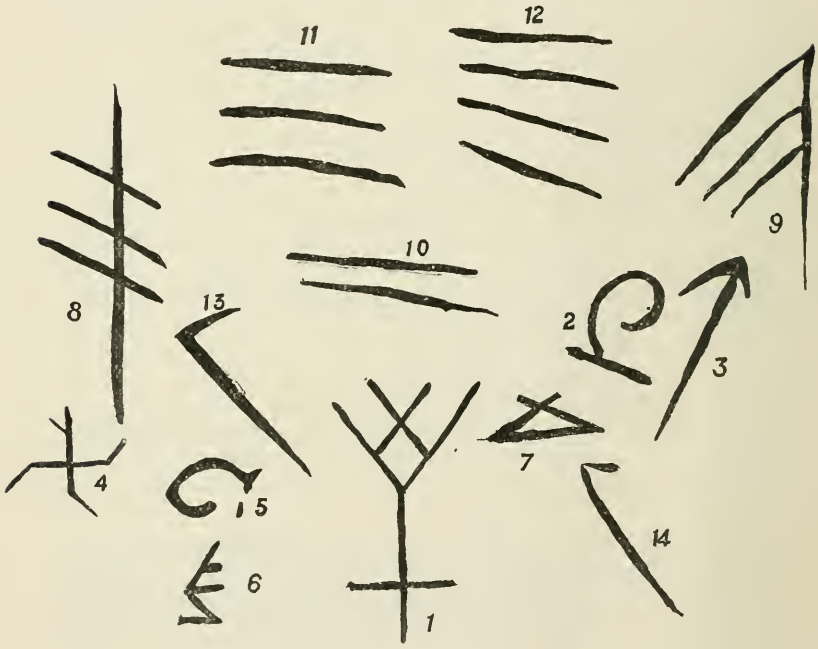
I should like to express my thanks to the vicars of the parishes in the Rural Deanery for their courtesy and willing help.

MILLOM

ART. X.—*Masons' Marks. Millom Parish Church.* By the Rev. W. SLATER SYKES, M.A.

Read at Keswick, June 29th, 1899.

UNTIL about 40 years ago, the outside of this church was roughcast with mortar and small sea pebbles, and the inside covered with many layers of whitewash. The first seems to have been carefully peeled off, but unfortunately the inside suffered from the overzeal of the



would-be restorer and was rechiseled. No record is preserved of any discoveries made at the time.

On the outside, a few marks are still visible, one or two being well preserved, but the red sandstone of which it is

is largely built, is very soft, and in many places the surface has peeled off, so that of many other marks still left, it is difficult to distinguish those of a few decades from the original and in some cases to say whether a mark is accidental or by design.

Of those on the diagram I am doubtful whether to include 10, 11, 12, for they look more modern than the rest, but as they are at the height of about 12 feet from the ground, it seems unlikely they can have been made by other than workmen.

No. 1—Still very distinct, though the surface of the stone is much worn. It may at any time disappear, as the stone—a shaft of a three light window—is broken. The window has been blocked by the erection inside the church of a mural tablet to members of the Hudleston family.

No. 2-7—Are all upon one window in the chancel. A trefoil headed window of two lights, under square dripstone.

No. 2-3—Are both on the same stone, on the right-hand side. The former, well preserved, is on the moulding, the latter on the wall face, much weathered.

No. 4—On the left side of the window is very distinct.

No. 5—On the dripstone, appears to be by the same hand as 2, but smaller, on account of the narrow width of the face of the stone. The line from which the curve springs is either much defaced or has been badly made.

No. 6—Very distinct, also on the dripstone.

No. 7—This is on the elbow of the dripstone and will shortly be lost as the stone is badly cracked.

No. 8-9—On the same stone, one of the coines of the chancel, are nearly rubbed away.

No. 10-13—On the east window of chancel are on stones one above another in order.

No. 14—On the sill. I am doubtful whether this should be counted as a mark.

ART. XI.—*Lost and Re-found Roman Altars, with a Note on a Silver Coin found at Maryport.* By J. B. BAILEY, Maryport.

Communicated at Cockermouth, August 24, 1899.

SEVERAL years ago, whilst reading a guide-book to Barnard Castle, I came across the following statement—viz., that "Some Roman remains from Birdoswald in Cumberland are preserved at Rokeby Hall." Being somewhat anxious to see these, I provided myself with a list of Birdoswald altars stated by Hutchinson to be at Rokeby,* and then, on July 16th, 1881, I availed myself of the kind permission of R. A. Morritt, Esq., to carefully examine the altars. Of these there are five placed on a raised platform to the left of the carriage drive as we approach the Hall.

The first altar to be described is that on the extreme left of the photograph, which is sent herewith. There is not the slightest doubt but that it is No. 372 in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, and both Hutchinson and Dr. Bruce testify to its presence at Rokeby.† It is badly mutilated, a large portion having been chipped off the lower half of the right side.

The inscription is very incomplete, little being decipherable beyond the terminal letters of each line. So far as I was able to decipher it, the inscription varied but little from that given in Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*. It is :—

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* *History of Cumberland*, vol. I, pp. 66, etc.
† No. 831 in the *Corpus* and 15 in *Hutchinson's List*.

No. 5. No. 4. No. 3. No. 2. No. 1.

L. 372. L. 358. L. 356. L. 355. L. 354.
C. 831. C. 807. C. 815. C. 813. C. 808.

LOST AND RE-FOUND ROMAN ALTARS.

(TO FACE P. 139.)

D (E) O (S) O L I
(I N V I C) T O
. . . . . M
. . . . . N
. . . . T V S
. . . . I V S

When I again examined this altar on December 30th, 1898, some of the letters had disappeared.

The next altar on the photograph was a puzzle to me. The inscription was exceedingly faint, but after considerable trouble, I had the satisfaction of making out the following :—

. . . . . M
. . . . . .
A . . . V . . R
E S T . A M M
V I C T O R I N
. T R I B

Had I read Hutchinson other than merely to compile the list to which I have already alluded, I would doubtless have recognized it as from Birdoswald, but not being sufficiently interested at the time, the inscription got no further than the pages of my note book.

A subsequent perusal, however, showed me that it was probably a Birdoswald altar, as Hutchinson records one such,* with the following inscription :—

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
A M M
V I C T O R I N
T R I B

* No. 14 in his *List*, 358 in the *Lapidarium*, and 807 in the *Corpus*.

It

It will be noted that my reading is much fuller than the latter. Having some months ago obtained the loan of *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, through the kindness of H. P. Senhouse, Esq., of Netherhall, I first became aware of the fact that this altar was "missing." In order to satisfactorily clear up this apparent contradiction was the object of my subsequent visit of December 30th, 1898. I found the inscription much more difficult to decipher than on my previous visit in 1881; indeed, several of the letters had entirely disappeared. Still I was fully able to sustain the correctness of my reading. The altar itself is much damaged—especially the capital—though it possesses "a well or focus, roughly circular, and about 6½ inches in diameter, and 3½ inches in depth."

That neither Hutchinson nor yet Dr. Bruce should have recognized this altar at Rokeby seems very strange, especially in the case of the former, who, living in Barnard Castle, would thus have had abundant opportunities of examining the altars. In his time the inscription must have been perfectly intelligible, to judge from the present rate of decay. If my reading be accepted, and I give it without any hesitation, it would appear as though we were again face to face with the missing altar, No. 358, *Lapidarium*.

With regard to the next altar on the photograph, there can be no doubt but that it is No. 356 in the *Lapidarium*.* The inscription as given by Dr. Bruce is:—

I . O . M .
C O H . I . A E L
D A C . C V I
P R A E . . .
I G . . . . . .

* No. 815 in the *Corpus* and No. 11 in *Hutchinson's List*.

Referring

Referring to this altar, Horsley, as quoted by Hutchinson, says that it stood on the walk in the garden at Naworth, and that it had a sundial fastened on the top of it. Although the letters on the altar are now for the most part illegible, the remains of the fastenings by which the sundial was attached are still to be seen—thus, in connection with my own reading, proving the identity.

The next altar in order—viz., the fourth from the left hand—was thickly covered with lichen on my first visit, and it was quite impossible to make out a single letter, nor was I any more successful on my second visit. We may well understand then why it should be unrecognized and marked as "missing," even though it should in reality turn out to be a Birdoswald altar. The moulding was carried quite round the altar, but a portion some six or seven inches wide had been chiselled off the back from the top to the bottom to the depth of about 1½ inches. Evidently this was for the purpose of hanging some light gate or other such purpose, the lead being still in evidence.

Under the following circumstances, this might almost be said to stamp it as a Birdoswald altar. Speaking of the altars at Naworth, Stukeley says:—"In the garden are many altars and inscriptions. I copied all these tolerably fair. With much regret, I saw these noble monuments quite neglected and exposed, some cut in half to make gateposts;" whilst Gough, speaking of the same altars, says that they "had been badly used, but that such as had survived this bad usage were given by the late Earl (*i.e.*, of Carlisle) to Sir Thomas Robinson, his brother-in-law, at that time proprietor of the Rokeby Estate." The question is whether we should be justified in saying that even this indirect testimony favours the idea that the altar is from Birdoswald. It certainly answers to the above statement of Stukeley and Gough, and identically in the way indicated.

At

At least nine Birdoswald altars were in the garden at Naworth, as is evident from Horsley's list quoted by Hutchinson. Of these six have been traced to Rokeby either by Hutchinson or Dr. Bruce—viz., *Lapidarium*, Nos. 352, 354, 355, 356, 369, and 372—to which we may, I think, now add No. 358, making seven in all.* Of the other two, No. 368 is at Corby; and No. 381, inferring from the above statement by Gough, would doubtless be left at Naworth by Sir Thomas Robinson. Of those traced to Rokeby, at least two are still to be accounted for—viz., Nos. 355 and 369. Can the altar we are discussing be either of these? To judge from the sketch given by Hutchinson, it could scarcely be No. 369, which is apparently either a mere slab, or at least only the portion of an altar with neither capital nor base. We thus seem left with No. 355,† which certainly bears a strong resemblance to No. 10 in Hutchinson's diagrams. Other considerations to which we need scarcely refer led me to think that here again we were on the track of the other "missing" altar.

With the idea of proving or disproving the case, some six months ago I approached Mrs. Donovan, of Rokeby Hall, who most kindly had the lichen carefully removed from the face of the altar. At the same time, Mr. E. Yeoman, of Barnard Castle, took an excellent photograph of the five altars. Hutchinson reported the letters on No. 355 as finely cut, and at the same time fair and distinct, the inscription being:—

I . O . M .
C O H . I . A E L
D A C . C . . P . .
S T A T . L O N . .
G I N V S . T R I B .

* The respective numbers quoted in the *Corpus Index* are 819, 808, 813, 815, 826, 831, 807.
† No 813 in the *Corpus*.

A very careful examination of the photograph—not the one which accompanies this paper, by the way — with a powerful lens, has not been an entire success. Still, the following letters at times seemed fairly visible, viz. :—

. . . . . M
. . O . . . . . .
. . C . C
S T A . . . . . .
G . N . S . . . .

In order to test this further, I got a friend to examine the photograph, and, without any hesitation whatever, he pronounced that the last three lines were exactly as I have given them. Should this reading then be correct, the inference seems irrestible that this is the other " missing " altar—No. 355, *Lapidarium*. Probably another photograph may make the matter a certainty. This altar has a deep well-defined basin or elliptical focus, the axes being $6\frac{1}{2}$ and $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the depth being $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and the sides perpendicular.

Immediately in front of this altar is the Legionary Stone—No. 395, *Lapidarium*. The inscription is :—

L E G . V I
V I C . P . F .
F .

There was not the slightest difficulty in recognizing the last of the altars as No. 354, *Lapidarium*.* This altar was examined for me by my brother, Dr. G. H. Bailey ; and as he was able to add a few letters which do not appear in the *Lapidarium*, I give the new reading, having confirmed the additions. It is :—

* No. 808 in the *Corpus*. No. 9 in Hutchinson's list.

I . O . M .
(C O) H . I . A E L . D A C .
C (V I) P (R A E) E S T
(A V) R E L I V S . F A
(B I V) S . T R I B V N .
(P E R) P E T V O .
(E T . C O R N E L I A N O) C O S .

The altar itself is in a good state of preservation, but its base is wanting, and the scrolls on the capital are somewhat peculiar, not being parallel to the sides.

In conclusion, a short epitome of the Birdoswald altars recognized at Naworth by Horsley may be useful as tending to bring out the chief points in this paper, and to supply one or two additional, but necessary items :—

No. 352 *Lap.*, 819 *Corpus*.—Although now "missing," was undoubtedly at Rokeby when Mr. Mossman made the sketch from which the engraving in the *Lap.* is taken. It was 18 inches square, and shaped like a building stone, and may have been used as such since that date.

No. 354 *Lap.*, 808 *Corpus*.—Is still on the platform at Rokeby (1).

No. 355 *Lap.*, 813 *Corpus*.—Was seen at Rokeby by Hutchinson, but reported "missing" by Dr. Bruce. It is still apparently on the platform at Rokeby (2).

No. 356 *Lap.*, 815 *Corpus*.—Is still on the platform at Rokeby (3).

No. 358 *Lap.*, 807 *Corpus*.—Reported "missing" by Dr. Bruce. It is still apparently on the platform at Rokeby (4).

No. 368 *Lap.*—Is at Corby.

No. 369 *Lap.*, 826 *Corpus*.—Was seen at Rokeby by Hutchinson. Is clearly "missing."

No.

No. 372 *Lap.*, 831 *Corpus.*—Is still on the platform at Rokeby (5).

No. 381 *Lap.*—Is "missing."

ON A SILVER COIN FOUND AT MARYPORT.

Towards the end of December, 1893, a fine Roman silver coin was found close to Maryport. Fortunately it passed into the hands of one who recognised its value. It is now at Netherhall. It is "a fine denarius of the Roman Republic. It has on the obverse the head of Rome helmeted, with the figure x behind it, and on the other side Diana in a biga galloping to the races—a crescent on her head. Under the horses are the letters T O D, with a bird perched on the crossbar of the T."*

Further, "the date of it is uncertain, but it may conjecturally be placed at the beginning of the 2nd century B.C. It is engraved in *Babelon's Monnaies de la République Romaine*, vol. I., p 55."†

It has been suggested that it originally formed part of the treasures of some local (Roman) coin collector. It is in a wonderfully fine state of preservation.

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* From a note furnished by R. Blair, F.S.A.

† From information supplied from the British Museum.

ART. XII.—*Crosthwaite Church.* By GEORGE WATSON, Penrith.

Read at Keswick, June 29, 1899.

IN this paper I propose to give my reminiscences of Crosthwaite Church in its pre-restoration condition. My first acquaintance with it was in the early part of 1836, I then being twelve years old. In 1836, the most conspicuous feature was whitewash, inside and out—whitewash on ceilings, walls, arches, pillars, windows —whitewash piously renewed yearly. The next most conspicuous feature was the huge steeply-sloping singers' gallery filling up the west end of the nave, whereon a formidable company of singers and musicians performed. These were called into action at the proper moment by the sexton sounding his pitch-pipe, and giving out the psalm in a singing tone, whereupon the whole congregation rose to their feet, wheeled round, and "faced the music." At that time, the appropriated seats were in the aisles and chancel ; the nave was free, the side north of the centre path being exclusively occupied by women and the south side by men. The glories of the old singers' gallery came to an end the following year (1837), when Mr. Stanger, at his sole cost, presented the church with an organ, built by Bishop, and erected an organ gallery—the old singers' gallery being reconstructed at a lower level to accommodate the Sunday School scholars.

It has been asserted that Mr. Gilbert Scott designed Mr. Stanger's organ gallery, but such was not the case. My father was employed to make plans of the west end of the church to send to Mr. Bishop, who furnished plans and sections for the new gallery, which was erected under my

my father's directions. At that time, Mr. Scott had not entered into practice ; After this, the old church had rest until the death of Southey, in 1843. A subscription was got up to place a monument in the chancel to his memory. Mr. Stanger was the chief promoter of the scheme, and he, as I heard him say, feeling that the church was in such a rude condition as to be unfit for the reception of the monument, undertook at his own cost to restore the chancel. Then it was that Mr. Scott, of the then firm of Scott & Moffatt, was called in, who at that time, was quite in the early stage of his fame as an architect. The restoration, begun in the chancel, speedily extended to the whole church, principally at Mr. Stanger's cost, who, it is said, expended £4,000 in the work.

When Mr. Scott took the church in hand, the chancel contained the original three-light 14th century window, with the apex of its equilateral arch covered by the plaster ceiling, leaving a communication between the church below and roof above, through which, the colony of birds in the roof used to dart out and soar about the church.

This historic east window was 4 feet 6 inches nearer the north side of the church than the south, plainly telling that the original church had been 4 feet 6 inches narrower than as we now see it. The tower and its arch were untouched by the restoration. That the tower as it now stands was no part of the 14th century church its west window plainly shows, it being of the latest and most debased type of Tudor work; but the tower arch, by being out of the centre of the widened nave in the same way that the chancel east window was, indicates that a former and probably smaller tower had existed.

At what time the church was widened and the tower rebuilt, is pretty clearly indicated by the post-reformation character of the work, and is to be learned from the will of

of Dame Alice Ratcliffe, whose monumental brass, along with that of her husband Sir John, is in the chancel. The will is given in full in a paper by the late Mr. William Jackson, on Dudley of Yanwath, printed in the *Transactions* of this Society, vol. ix. Dame Alice made her will on the last day of March, 1554, in the first year of Queen Mary, and it was proved on July 5 the same year. She had lived at Salisbury, and, at her death, had survived her husband Sir John 27 years. Her reference to Crosthwaite Church makes it clear, I think, that it was in the year 1554 that the tower was rebuilt and the church enlarged by the addition of a south aisle.

My theory is that up to that time the church comprised only a nave and chancel, about four feet and a half narrower than it now is, and a north aisle as we now see it—all its original windows, like that of the chancel, being of the 14th century, or decorated period, of the simplest type. The Marian post-reformation works were, I think, the tower and the south aisle, which would involve the removal of the south wall, and substituting for it the present south arcade, the builders taking the opportunity of widening the nave and chancel. They, however, had the good sense to leave the original east window untouched to tell its own 14th century story to posterity, and it is to be sincerely wished that modern restorers had been equally discreet. Dame Alice's bequests to Crosthwaite Church and Parish may be briefly stated in modern English, thus:—

She leaves to Crosthwaite Church works 40s., showing that works were then going on at the church; she also leaves £140 to pay a chantry priest £5 a year, so long as the money lasts, to pray for her husband's and her own soul, and all Christian souls, upon Sundays and holy days in the church of Crosthwaite, and upon working days in the chapel at Keswick; she also leaves 40s. each to the maintenance of the Chapels of St. John's and Wythburn; and, further on in the will, she leaves 100s. more to each of these chapels, and 100s. to the poor people of the same lordship; she also leaves 20s. each to the

the works of Salisbury Cathedral and three other church works in that neighbourhood.

Of course, the value of these bequests must not be estimated by the value of money now; £5 a year was then considered ample for the maintenance of a priest. The chapel at Keswick, where on working days the priest had to officiate, was probably in connection with the Ratcliffe Mansion, on Lord's Island. There is, I believe, no tradition or trace of a chapel in the town.

The earliest record of a church at Crosthwaite is a curious one. In the year 1306 the inhabitants of Cockermouth presented a petition to Parliament that their market was fast declining through the inhabitants of Crosthwaite dealing in corn, flour, beans, flesh, and fish at their church on Sundays, and that thereby they (the petitioners) were unable to pay their tolls to the King. An order was issued closing the church market at Crosthwaite. This incident is given in Whellan's *History of Cumberland*, pp. 333-4, and is also mentioned in a discussion in *Notes and Queries*, on Sunday markets, September 28th, 1895. And that Crosthwaite was not alone in Cumberland in the possession of a Sunday market, the following note may be adduced from Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, under the head of Parish of Wigton :—

A meat market was held at Wigton, in Cumberland, on a Sunday, and the butchers suspended carcases of meat at the church door to attract the persons attending divine service, and it was no uncommon thing for people, who had made their bargains before the service, to hang their joints of meat over the backs of their seats until the ceremony was concluded. The practice was so distasteful to the priest that, being unable to prevent it, he made a journey to London on foot, with a petition to the King to alter the market day to Tuesday, a request which was readily granted.

Hutchinson says the name of this priest was Warkup, who was incumbent of Wigton during the civil war time of

of Charles the First, and was obliged to fly on account of his loyalty to his Sovereign. After the restoration he returned to his cure, and the tradition is, as before stated, about the Sunday market at Wigton. To return to the restoration of Crosthwaite Church, under Mr. George Gilbert Scott, I will briefly recount the principal works done. The church was entirely re-roofed, re-floored, and re-seated; the chancel fittings were in Dantzic oak, carved, from Mr. Scott's designs, by carvers brought from London. The flat plaster ceiling gave place to the massive, open-timbered roof of American red pine; and the incrustation of whitewash was got rid of, by stripping the old plaster from the walls, and by chisel and mallet from the stone work of pillars, arches, and windows.

The original east window, besides being non-central with the widened nave, was so dilapidated, and the east wall was so ruinous, that the whole had to be taken down and re-built. Before being disturbed, however, the window was carefully measured in all its parts by my father and the late Mr. William Bromley, the master mason. I made a drawing of it to scale, which was sent to Mr. Scott, who returned a perfect working drawing, from which Mr. Bromley worked the beautiful facsimile of the original window, which, until lately, adorned the church; but which—oh! the pity of it—has been taken out, and a late perpendicular window inserted in its place, thereby falsifying the original architectural character of the church, as well as at once slighting the memory of Mr. Stanger and the reputation of Sir George Gilbert Scott.

When the plaster was stripped off the walls of the north aisle, there was disclosed the internal stonework of an ancient doorway in a line with the south door and font. Such doors were peculiar to ancient churches, and were known as penitent's or devil's doors. It is said they were set open on the occasions of baptisms, that evil spirits

spirits, driven out of the child by the holy rite, should make their exit to their proper place—the north side of the church. The doorway had been walled up, inside and out—time out of mind—and plastered over so that there was no trace of it visible, until discovered as just described. Mr. Scott had it opened internally to show that a devil's door had been part of the ancient church. There was then no reason for opening it through. The ground outside was still under the ban of popular prejudice as a place of burial. Nobody liked the back of the church, or wanted anything with it. The church abounds with architectural irregularities: amongst these may be mentioned the variety in size, height from floor, and diversity of detail in the pre-reformation windows of the north aisle, the utter lack of uniformity between the clear-storey windows and the arches below them, especially on the north side of the church. Again, while there are seven arches in both arcades, the arches differ in positions and spacing; and, while the north side has seven clear-storey windows, that on the south has only six. Many other odd features may be observed, but the foregoing are the principal.

ART. XIII. *Pre-historic Implements in Furness and Cartmel.* By HARPER GAYTHORPE, F.S.A. (Scot.), of Barrow-in-Furness.

Communicated January 1900.

I NOW bring forward a description of a bronze palstave found A.D. 1831, near the ruins of Wraysholme Tower, Cartmel, by Mr. John Barrow Storey, of Pennybridge. His father, Mr. John Storey, was steward to John Harrison, Esq., of The Landing, Windermere, who was at that time owner of the Tower.

The implement was turned up with a spade out of the bottom of a dyke or ditch in Eller Meadow, about 150 yards to the south-east of the Tower. A cast-iron cannon ball, about seven inches in diameter and weighing 44¼lbs., having a well-developed ridge round the centre, was also found about the buildings, and placed near the door of the adjoining farm house; but about 40 years ago it was purchased by Dr. Beardsley, of Grange. This, and another cannon ball, four inches in diameter, weighing about 10lbs., found at Grange, are now in his possession. There is a local tradition that the larger cannon ball was fired at Wraysholme Tower by Oliver Cromwell's troops from Boar Bank; but it is more likely to have been brought over from Lancaster as a curiosity by a former owner of the Tower. A rapier, probably used at the time of the Civil War, was also found in close proximity, which, with the palstave, is now in the possession of T. Newby Wilson, Esq., J.P., of The Landing, Windermere, to whom I am indebted, along with Dr. Beardsley, and Mr. Robert Benson, of Ulverston, for the above particulars.

The

The length of the palstave over all is 5 15-16th inches, the length of the flanges from F to C 3 1-6th inches, and from F^1 to C^1 3 1-24th inches. The greatest width, from A to A^1 is 2 2-3rds inches, from B to B^1 $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches, from C to C^1 (the shoulder) $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches, from D to D^1 (the stop-ridge) $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and from E to E^1 1 1-12th inches. The thickness of the cutting edge from A to A^1 varies from 1-48th to 3-48ths of an inch; but, from the length of the implement and its semi-circular shape at the cutting edge, it does not appear to have been much used. In the centre at A-A^1 the thickness is 11-24ths of an inch, at B-B^1 7-12ths of an inch, at D-D^1 (a little below the stop-ridge) 2-3rds of an inch, and in the hollow above the stop-ridge near D 5-12ths of an inch. It gradually tapers towards the top, where at F-F^1 it is $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch thick, and at the extreme edge 1-12th of an inch, as shown in the vertical section. The word "top" is to be understood in the technical sense used by Sir John Evans, in his *Ancient Bronze Implements*, p. 81, last line. Here, the word is applied to what (in the engraving) is the bottom of the implement. Its weight is 1lb. $3\frac{1}{2}$ozs.

The faces of the palstave near the cutting edge have been hammered. This is more noticeable under the curved sides of the widest part, for there the curved line formed by the hammer marks on the upper face is much the same as that on the edge of an axe used by last-makers; while, on the lower face, the curve corresponds with the contour of the cutting edge.

The flanges have been hammered over, and slightly overhang on the inside so as to fix the handle. The faceted edges of the flanges are 5-16th of an inch wide opposite the stop-ridge, and gradually taper to the top and shoulders of the implement.

The peculiar shield-plate or tongue-shaped continuation of the flanges on the upper and lower faces of the palstave encloses a space below the stop ridge. Instead of two vertical

vertical hollows, as in No. 98, page 102, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, from Trillick, County Tyrone, Ireland, the shield-plate has on each face a rib at right angles to the stop-ridge, extending towards the cutting edge. This tongue-shaped piece, as shown in the front view, is exactly the same length on each of the faces ; but, in this attempt at ornamentation, or to give additional strength, the curves are not symmetrical, those on the lower face being more elongated.

The patina has been partly removed from the facets of the flanges; what remains is of a dark colour, almost black, but where removed from the flanges and from the upper and lower faces the palstave is of a dull bronze shade. In these places, the thickness of the patina is perceptible to the touch. On the highest parts of the flanges, on the thickest part of the implement and at the extreme edges, the patina has been removed by friction. At these places the palstave is polished, and in colour is of a lighter tint than our gold coinage, though not nearly so copper-coloured as the bronze coinage.

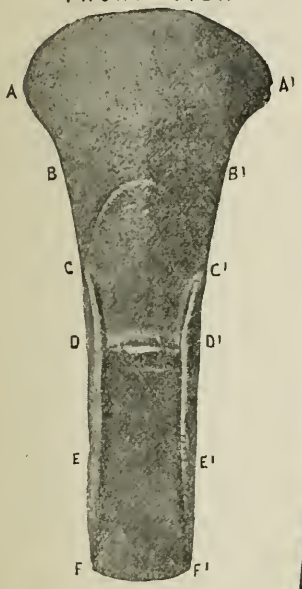
The faces of the palstave are not corroded, though they have at some time been bruised and pitted. The cutting edge has been badly bruised, but is fairly sharp near A. On the upper and lower faces, especially opposite the widest part of the palstave, are marks extending in all directions, similar to fire cracks in pottery, evidently caused when it was being cooled ; and towards the cutting edge there is clear evidence that the surfaces have either been ground or planished.

The hollows at the foot of the stop-ridge have apparently been made to keep the handle in position. On the upper face, the stop-ridge, curved in the centre, is on the same level as the flanges ; while, on the lower face, it is about 1-16th of an inch below the level, as shown in the cross section.

Below E-E^1, on the upper and lower edges of the flanges

BRONZE PALSTAVE

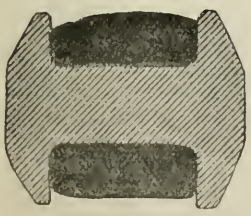
FOUND NEAR WRAYSHOLME TOWER, CARTMEL, A D. 1831.



HALF SIZE

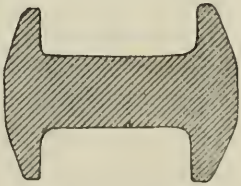
HALF SIZE

CROSS SECTION AT D D'



FULL SIZE

CROSS SECTION AT E E'



FULL SIZE

VERTICAL SECTION
FULL SIZE

S B GAYTHORPE, PHOTO.

H GAYTHORPE, INV. & DEL.

flanges, are five or six well-defined ridges, "to keep the tying in its place." These are distinctly visible in the front view. There are also similar ridges from C towards A, and from C^1 towards A^1 on both sides of the palstave. These have evidently been cast with the implement, and not made subsequently.

Although plain palstaves of the kind No. 57, page 76, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, found near Dorchester, Oxfordshire, are "not of unfrequent occurrence in Ireland, though the stop-ridge is usually less fully developed, they also occur in France." Still, the most noticeable feature of the Wraysholme palstave is its similarity to others from Ireland; *e.g.*, No. 97, page 101, *Ancient Bronze Implements*, from Lanesborough, County Longford, in the collection of Canon Greenwell, F.R.S. "The outside of the wings is faceted after a fashion not unusual in Ireland," but the slight shoulders at the base of the central facets are not so pronounced as in the specimen from Lanesborough, though they have evidently been intended to assist in securing the blade in the handle.

It may be that the Britons inhabiting this district—at anyrate, those belonging to the Bronze Age—were in closer connection with those dwelling across the Solway in Scotland than with the Britons of Yorkshire and of the southern parts of Britain; and that, if the communication was maintained by sea rather than by land, as was very likely to have been the case, there is every probability that the connection extended to the North of Ireland or even further afield.

In closing this paper, I regret not having been able to bring forward several stone implements found in Furness, and not hitherto noticed, two of which—a beautiful Celt found at Stainton and a perforated pebble found in a gravel bed, 10 feet below the surface in Croslands Park, Barrow-in-Furness—are in my possession. These two, and others, I hope to bring forward at a future time.

ART. XIV. *The Parish Church of Kendal.* BY J. F. CURWEN, F.R.I.B.A.

MANY a year has passed away since first, amidst a wilderness of wood and mountain, a Church of God was raised on forked timbers with mud wattle-woven sides and roof of thatch—since holy men went forth to spread the faith, and good men, devoting of their substance, endowed and built this fabric.

The Parish Church of Kendal in its early history, growth, restorations, and present condition, is a record and architectural monument of the early history, growth, change and present condition of the inhabitants of this ancient town. The two are inseparably connected. What our forefathers were in their piety or commercial status, such they made their Church ; what we are to-day, such will the record of our Church become.

In trying, therefore, to trace the history of this most interesting edifice, we find also lying beneath it another history of its congregation, at times zealous, and then mean and cold, only to be re-awakened by a surprising ardour of loyalty and self-sacrifice. It was the altar of this town, when Hearth and Altar stood against the Crown, and when Crown and Altar stood against the people. It has stood during all the border raids, seen the monasteries suppressed, Popes defied, and it has survived the healthy sifting time of the Reformation and Commonwealth. It has been in good hands and in bad hands; but in all positions the Church has ever been a stone in the history of our forefathers.

No information can be got from drawings contained in the old manuscripts, from descriptions in the Saxon chronicles, or from metrical romances, of who first planted the

the Cross of Christ here; but that there was upon the site of the present nave an ancient Saxon Church, as well as at Kirkby Lonsdale, is gathered from the "Domesday Booke" (the Book of Judgment, because from that, as from the Day of Judgment, "there lyes noe appeale,") in which the distinguishing name of "Cherchebi" is there given to them both. Doubtless many of the other villages mentioned had buildings for worship, but if so they were all dependent upon the two great Saxon Mother Churches of Kendal and Lonsdale.

The conquest of England by the Duke of Normandy had a vast influence on our ecclesiastical architecture. Continental art advanced at a pace entirely unknown in this island, so that the religious houses which met the eyes of the prelates who came in the victor's train must have appeared to them both plain and rude. Scarcely, however, had the Conqueror's throne been secured, than his countrymen, who had received from him places in the Abbeys and Sees of England, began to rebuild on new and grander plans the Churches under their charge. In all parts of the land, east and west, north and south, builders were at work. The chink of the chisel and the blow of the hammer rang everywhere in the ears of the twelfth century of England. Surely never was an age so enthusiastic in building!

Here in Kendal the fortunes of both Castle and Church were shaped by the doughty first Baron of Kendal, Ivo Talbois, but unfortunately there is no record of the extent to which he caused the Church to be remodelled from the Saxon plan. So far as I can see, no Norman work now remains to tell its tale. He it was who presented wholesale the tithes of his Westmorland estates to St. Mary's Abbey at York (founded 1056), subject to the duty of providing for the service of the Churches therein. It appears from an inquisition of Ad quod damnum taken at Appleby before the Sheriff, on Thursday next after the Epiphany

Epiphany in the year 1302, that it was found to be "of no damage to the King or any other to appropriate the Church of Kirkby-in-Kendal to the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary's, York." In the meantime, however, William de Lancaster II., the sixth Baron of Kendal, had made a munificent grant of land (the Glebe and Vicar's fields) to the Church, reciting the dedication as "To the HOLY TRINITY."

Gilbert, the son of Roger Fitz Reinfred, who also procured a grant for a weekly market and in other ways exerted himself in the interest of the town, seems to have been the Baron who undertook the principal rebuilding, for the oldest part now remaining coincides with that transitional period during Henry III's reign, when the Early English Gothic architecture gradually swept northward to supersede the Norman. There is an entry in the Records of York to the effect that an indulgence was granted for some radical repairs in the year 1232 as follows:—"May 16th, 1232, Indulgentia pro ecclesia de Kendall miserabili ruina deformata."

The Church had originally two Rectors, but in the year 1252 the medieties were consolidated with consent of the Abbey.

The Early English Church consisted only of the present chancel, nave, tower, and two inner aisles, to which were soon added the Chapels of St. Catherine V.M. (Strickland) and St. Thomas-a-Becket, (now occupied by the organ), on either side of the chancel. The legend of St. Catharine is not earlier than the eighth century, and was not introduced into Western Christendom till after the Crusade in the eleventh century. Her *cultus* then became rapidly popular. We have some fifty Churches in England bearing her name, and a vast number of Chantry Chapels and altars.

At this time the porch was on the south side, the foundations of which are still existing below the pavement

ment near to the second arch from the west. The south porch was formerly something more than an ornament or even a shelter, for it was a recognised portion of the sacred building and had its appointed place in the services of the Church. For instance, baptism was frequently administered here to symbolize that by that sacrament the infant entered into Holy Church, and at the time of the celebration the northern door was opened wide, that the Devil, formally renounced in the rite, might by that way flee "to his own place."

Of this early building there now only remains the pointed arches of the nave, and perhaps of the chancel, the freestone columns of the nave, certainly the bases, and the very thick plinthless west wall with the arches and lower part of the present tower. The high altar probably stood a little forward from the east wall, and had a passage behind it, as is shewn from the position of the niche in the first pillar on the south side, similarly placed in the other Church at Kirkby-in-Lonsdale. This niche was discovered in 1829, filled up with loose round stones, and plastered over, the Gothic arch of which rejected from its place in the restoration of 1850, is still to be seen in the Bellingham Chapel.

Judging from the few remaining details, the edifice must have possessed considerable dignity and beauty, perhaps exceeding the present one in architectural merit, if not in grandeur, and thus did it exist for many years, until the rage for erecting chantries, which reached a culminating point in the fifteenth century.

The Parr Chapel was added early in the fourteenth century, but to whom it was dedicated is not known. Like the chantries of SS. Catharine and Thomas-a-Becket, it originally extended another bay further westward. As a small proof of this, it is interesting to notice the family badge, that uncouth maiden's head couped, still existing near the capital of the second column from the east end, and

and likewise over the arch stones of the three windows. The corbel, from which the first arch springs, bears rudely carved the arms of Strickland, Brus, and Parr. A manuscript in the Herald's College Library refers to these curious maiden heads as follows:—"The badge of the Lady Katherine Parre, and last wife of Kinge H. 8. This badge was also given by Kinge H. 8 to the forsayd lady, being his Queen, and standeth in the walks about the preaching-place of Whitehall, under the tarras. This badge does not appear to have been an entire new fancy, but to have been composed from the rose badge of King Henry VIII., and from one previously used by this Queen's family. The house of Parr had before this time assumed as one of their devices a maiden's head, couped below the breasts, vested in ermine and gold, her hair of the last, and her temples encircled with a wreath of red and white roses, and this badge they had derived from the family of Ros, of Kendal."

Then in the year 1321, St. Mary's Chantry, situated to the west of the Parr Chapel, was founded. The Abbot and Convent of the Monastery at York "bound themselves and their successors to find and maintain a chantry in the Church of Kendal, at the altar of St. Mary, for one secular priest, and to allow him £5 for the purpose of celebrating mass for the soul of the then Vicar, Roger de Kirkeby."

In 1331, John Kempe, a manufacturer from Flanders, received a "letter of protection" to establish himself, men, servants, and apprentices in England for the purpose of practising his craft of woollen manufacture. He settled in Kendal. In 1335, the famous "Brewer of Ghent," Jacques Van Artevelde, became an ally of Edward III. in the war between England and France, and the Flemish merchants at once realised vast profits by such an advantageous connection—a circumstance which induced the citizens of Ghent to submit as long as they did to the despotic

despotic rule of Jacques. But when in 1345, the "King's dear gossip" of a brewer proposed that Edward's son should be elected Count of Flanders, an insurrection broke out, Jacques was slain, and his followers—mostly weavers—flocked over to Kendal in great numbers to escape the wrath of their fellow-countrymen. Kendal thus became the centre of a large Flemish manufacture, and it would seem evident that the south outer aisle was completed with its millstone grit columns, to accommodate this additional population, the porch being removed to the west end of the new south aisle.

Passing over the fifteenth century, during which long period I can gather but little information about the fabric, except that it fell into a very neglected state, I come to the time of that wonderful zeal for the glory of the sanctuary, which manifested itself by remodelling the Early English Gothic into the prevailing, but immeasurably inferior style of the sixteenth century—alterations which ultimately led to an extensive enlargement and reconstruction of portions of the fabric. The outer walls were first attacked and made to assume a Perpendicular dress, a clerestory was raised on the nave arcade, and several other chapels were added. An Indulgence, granted August 10th, 1511, and limited to 100 days, procured means to complete a "beautiful chapel," dedicated to St. Anna, and founded by Thomas Birkhede, of Hugill. William Shepherd, of Helsington, chapman, and William Herreyson, founded and built a quire to St. Anthony, in which "quere" the former directed, in his will dated January 17th, 1542, his body to be buried, having endowed the chantry with estates sufficient for its support and that of the priest attached to it. In like manner, Thomas Wilson, on June 8th, 1559, directs his body to be buried in the "pariche churche, under Saynte Christopher's loft."

In Henry VIII.'s ecclesiastical survey the living is valued

valued at £99 5s., and the Deaneries of Kendal and Lonsdale are united to form part of the Archdeaconry of Richmond and Diocese of York. But upon the consecration of the See of Chester in 1541, these Deaneries were separated and made part of that Bishopric. In 1856 they were annexed to the Diocese of Carlisle and formed the Archdeaconry of Westmorland, with Cartmel and Furness in the county of Lancashire.

After the dissolution of the Monasteries in 1553, Queen Mary, conceiving the condition of her father's soul to be so desperate, was persuaded, after consultation with her spiritual advisers, to bestow as an act of private affection to his memory, propitiation being out of the question, the Kendal, Kirkby Lonsdale, and other advowsons upon Trinity College, Cambridge, together with an annual sum of £376 10s. 3d. The priests assured her that it would be useless for them to petition His Holiness to allow public prayer to be made for her father, as they were sure the successor of St. Peter would never allow such an honour to be done to one who had died "so notorious a schismatic." The gift, however, did not apparently pass to the College until the latter end of the reign of James I.

The inscription on the chest tomb of Sir Roger Bellingham in the stately Lady Chapel fixes the building at a date anterior to 1553, as it is there stated that of "his own proper costs and charges he builded the chapell of Our Lady within this Church of Kendall." The practice of dedicating chapels to the Blessed Virgin was introduced into this country during the twelfth century, shortly after the monastic orders had gained the supremacy over the parochial clergy. These buildings were generally founded not only to satisfy the spirit of the age, which demanded the veneration of the Mother of our Lord, but also to afford the necessary accommodation at the east end for the increased number of clergy. Moreover, the desire to rest in a chapel so dedicated was closely associated with the

the idea which chiefly moved our forefathers to erect these buildings. They had been taught to believe in the invocation of saints, and were anxious to secure for themselves and their dear ones the mediation and intercession of the Mother of our Lord, whose influence with her Divine Son, they supposed, was all prevailing. So they founded these chapels in her honour, and solicited her good offices by frequent services and prostrations before her image, which occupied the place of honour above the altar. They believed, moreover, that as she could succour the living, so she would prevail with her Son on behalf of the dead.

It will be noticed that the easterly arch of this chapel is much narrower than any of the others in the Church, and that the capital of the first column is formed of two halves different in size, the westerly half having been inserted. Would this point originally to a side wall, where the second bay now is, with or without another narrow and similar arch connecting the Bellingham and Chambre Chapels? By reason of the lofty ceiling, it has been conjectured that the chapel might possibly have been divided originally into two storeys, and that the clerestory windows lighted a chamber for the chantry priest; but I can see no trace of any floor joist hole, fireplace, or access to it. It is just possible, of course, that when the old south porch, which no doubt contained a parvise, was taken down, the loss of the muniment room or library would be found to be so inconvenient as to compel the construction of a substitute in some other part of the Church; but if so, why construct a room difficult of access, over the Bellingham Chapel rather than in the new west porch? We certainly know that the west porch was constructed without a parvise, and, therefore, the inference is that no such accommodation was needed.

Before the outer northern aisle was completed the chapel, situated at its eastern end, would have an exterior gable wall with windows facing west. But when building this

SOUTH-EAST VIEW, SHEWING THE OLD VESTRY.

(TO FACE P. 165.)

this spacious addition, which measures 140 by 27 feet, it would seem that the builders, instead of breaking an archway through, pulled down the entire gable, filling in the space between the two levels of the roofs with woodwork, and divided off the chapel by oaken screens that had originally formed the front and sides of St. Thomas-a-Becket's chantry. A piece of timber, found at the restoration of this aisle roof in 1868, bore in raised figures the date of 1580, which fixes, no doubt, the time of the erection. Whether or not the circular-headed door-ways at the west end and at the entrance to the spiral stair are of still older date it is difficult to say.

In 1661, "ye High Steeple" was in ruins, and doubtless repaired; if, indeed, it was not at this time, when the thirteenth century tower was raised to its present height. In doing so, it is very evident that the old stone was used in again as far as possible—as, for instance, the mouldings in the belfry windows at the back of the tower, and other fragments that can best be seen from the roof. These bear the ornament of the early period, the local limestone being only used to make up the deficiency. The arched belfry openings of the lower tower, which are now blocked up, can still be seen on a level with the present clock; especially clear is the one on the south side, seen from the Glebe House Garden. The present tower, 80 feet high by 25 feet wide, stands on four arches, the height from the floor to the point of the eastern arch, which is now considerably bulged out, being 33 feet; to the western arch, 35 feet; and to the northern and southern arches, 24 feet. The eight pinnacles, prior to 1763, were two to three times taller; but, being often blown down, were then reduced in height.

There is no record of when the little old vestry was added outside the east-end wall between the two buttresses, but there is a record of the river Kent overflowing the floor on October 18th, 1635, and an item for repairing the

the roof, owing to the lead being stolen, in 1663. In 1726 a fireplace was put in, at first with a low chimney, and afterwards raised to a height above the main gable. It had no exterior door, but only one communicating with the chancel, first opening from the south and afterwards from the north side. There was also another outbuilding against the east wall near to the vestry, which some have termed the "scullery;" but whether it was for keeping disinterred bones in, or merely a sexton's shed, cannot be ascertained.

Thus did this striking building grow, step by step, until it finally reached its present proportions. As seen to-day, the Church presents the remarkable features of four aisles co-extensive with the nave and chancel, an engaged western tower, and a porch situated at the west end of the outer south aisle. Internally it measures 140 feet by 103 feet, with sitting accommodation for 1,400, and ample space for almost double that number. Moreover, it boasts of being the fifth widest church in the kingdom.*

The plan, as illustrated opposite, will convey a fairly good idea of the development of the fabric, if it is noted that the solid black represents what remains of the Early English Period, the hatched portions the work of the Middle Ages, and the dotted portions the Modern work. I have also shewn the original extent of the chapels, and have dotted on the shape of the old communion rails. The pillars of the eastern half dividing the two aisles are very poor in character, out of the perpendicular, and have a different style of base to those further west. Six of the eight pillars are of an irregular octagon form, and one is round.

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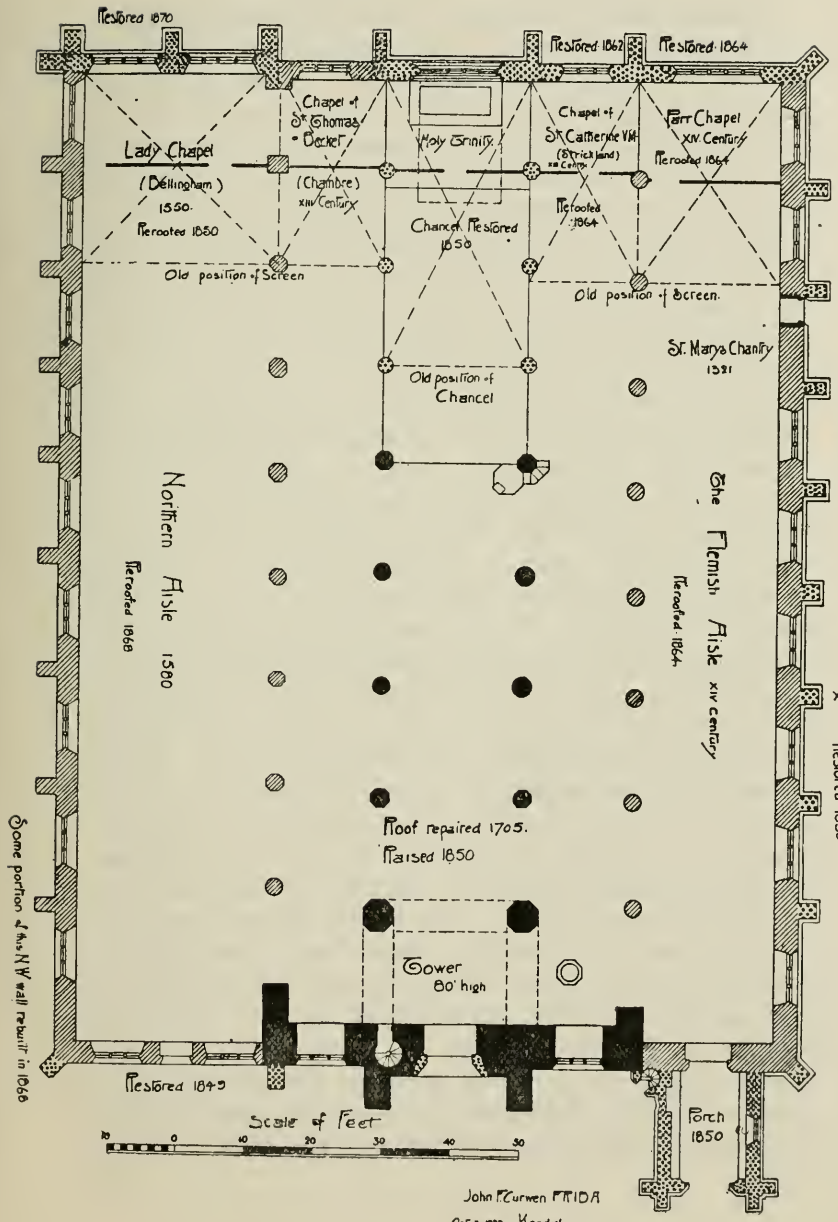
*St. Michael's, Coventry, measures 120 feet; Manchester Cathedral, 112 feet; St. Nicholas, Yarmouth, 110 feet; and York Cathedral, 106 feet wide.

It

KENDAL PARISH CHURCH



It was anciently the custom in the North of England for the Sunday afternoon to be spent in the reading of prayers only, the sermon having been preached in the morning. But in the year 1627, George Fleming, one of the benefactors to the Free Grammar School, bequeathed £10 towards the raising of a stock for an afternoon lecturer, to be preserved and disposed of by the Aldermen. Henry Wilson, of Underley Hall (the founder of the Farleton tithes), by his will dated 1639, bequeathed unto the Mayor and Aldermen the sum of £50 for a like purpose upon this trust and confidence that "they do procure a godly, learned, and sober divine to preach unto them at Kendal Church the word of God, and instruct and catechise them also in the principal and fundamental points of the Christian religion every Sabbath for ever." Likewise, Hugh Barrow, by will in 1641, devised out of his lands at Skelsmergh £100 for procuring a lecturer in the afternoon on every or every other Sunday. Edward Fisher bequeathed the further sum of £20. In 1670, Foard left a legacy of £10, and John Hay left 6s. 8d. yearly out of lands in Kendal Parks towards the self same object. For many years back now these lectureships have been paid by the Corporation to the Vicar. On coming to one of these lectures, the famous Bernard Gilpin observed a glove hanging up in a prominent place. Upon asking the reason, the sexton informed him that it was there as a challenge to any one that should take it down. Bernard ordered the sexton to reach it to him, but upon his utterly refusing, Gilpin took it down himself, and put it in his breast. When the people were assembled he went into the pulpit, and before he concluded his sermon took occasion to rebuke them severely for those inhuman challenges. "I hear," saith he, "that one among you hath hanged up a glove even in this sacred place threatening to fight any one who taketh it down. See! I have taken it down," and pulling out the glove, he held it

it up to the congregation, and then showed them how unsuitable such stupid practices were to the profession of Christianity.

In 1658 there is record of repairs being done to the rough-cast, mending of the "fformes," of providing a new "dyall to ye clocke" with a new pointer to "itt," and for mending of the "chyme" and two hammers. In these days the Church glass was kept in repair by contract, the annual sum being "three pounds lawfull English money," reduced in 1666 to 30s.

Between the years 1663-5 we have record of rushes being brought to "strawe the High Quire" with, on the occasion of the visit of the Archdeacon of Richmond, and of washing and sweeping the Church against Sir Joseph's (Cradock) coming to "sitt his Court of Correction, and sentence offenders from his chair of state." Also, in 1664, of a man being paid for varnishing a new censer for Church use. Only think of it! a censer—yet one must often wish for a waft of incense now to purify the overloaded atmosphere within the Church of to-day. Again, in 1670, of a deep hole being dug within the Church for "burying ye bones." On September 11th, 1671, the river swept over the Churchyard wall, where "itt left much ffish." It seems also to have raised up the old flooring of the Vestry, and to have put the wardens to the expense of paying 1s. 6d. for drink to certain men for removing the oak chest out of reach of the water.

In 1675-6 the Communion Table was enlarged and railed in with close rails and gates for the exclusion of dogs, and there were bought "15 yeards and a quarter of fine-green-cloth, eleaven yeards of ffine Hollan, and silk-ffringe for the green table cloth." The table frame and the communion "rayles" were also painted green, and the Lord's Prayer and Creed were painted on a green-framed canvas. During the years 1676 and 1678, 52 cwt. of lead was bought from Sir Philip Musgrave to repair the roof

roof with. This lead came from Hartley Castle, then being dismantled. In 1679, the masonry of the "Lord-Parr-quier" window was repaired.

The year following the induction of the Rev. Thomas Murgatroyd as Vicar (1684), the Church was "beautified" in every available space with texts of Scripture, cherubim and seraphim, green hissing serpents and flying dragons, and the whole garnished and embroidered with sundry quaint devices and flourishes in green, yellow, and black painted upon the whitewash: the text over the pulpit being—"Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgression and the house of Jacob their sins;" another, over the Alderman's pew, being—"For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil." The exterior walls were likewise decorated in yellow and black margins some five inches wide on the roughcast, extending round all the doors and windows, up the angles of the walls and buttresses, and completely round the steeple. All this interior "decoration" lasted for 145 years till the restoration of 1829, and the exterior till the removal of the rough-casting in 1844. It is curious to read in the churchwarden's accounts how a certain James Addison, painter, of Hornby, contracted to do this for the sum of "thirty pounds of currant Inglish money," using "size, soe that it shall not grime or spoil mens cloathes, well writeing of sentencs and flourishing them decently and in good order, alsoe to make anew the Kings Armes and the Ten Commandments and to do them soe well as they shall not peel or fail for the space of twenty years next hereafter coming." It seems that he also contracted for six pounds "to make green the font and pulpit and to beautifie the cornise under the King's Arms." Doubtless the churchwardens could answer with a good conscience the question put at the time of visitation—"Is your Church well plastered within?" In 1685 the middle alley was reflagged, and the clock loft was refloored

refloored with 2-inch planks; the two northern aisles were likewise reflagged in 1686.

On the 22nd day of June, 1699, the Rev. William Crosby, who was such a great blessing to the parish for 34 years, became Vicar. He found the Church in a very neglected condition. We are told "many would choose to tarry at home rather than go to the Church." However, he soon found that he did not labour in vain, for through his ministrations and bright example the Church became filled to overflowing. Through his advice, the old custom of burying the dead without coffins was suppressed. He also struck a blow at the drinking customs of that day, for "att a generall meeting of ye churchwardens held June 3rd, 1703, it was agreed on by a generall consent yt hereafter there should be no money spent in eating and drinking upon the parish charge upon any peremptory day, and that the churchwardens be allowed only 4d. a man out of the public stock for their refreshment." Some quaint entries concerning the provision and cost of wine for sacred and other less sacred purposes are to be met with prior to this time—for instance, the late Canon Simpson produced a paper which showed that very heavy sums comparatively had been annually spent at Kendal in procuring communion wine. One item was for £6, another £9, and again £11; whilst opposite one of the entries was the remark—"That is exclusive of wine used at Easter." It would seem that it was customary for the Vicar to give the Easter wine, receiving in return Easter dues. On another occasion, when the Bishop of Chester was about to visit the Church, the wardens ordered a bottle of sack to be placed in the vestry. Here also is a sidelight:—"Ordered that no wine be given to any clergyman to carry home."

Likewise, it was Vicar Crosby who struck the last blow which separated the sports, plays, and dancings of the village

village wakes, that had hitherto been so closely connected with it, from the Church. On Sundays and holidays the Churchyard used always to be a public playground, but on the great Church festivals the desecration was far worse. Dealers in all kinds of goods appeared on the scene, spread their wares on the tombstones, and could with difficulty be kept out of the sacred edifice itself. It is not surprising that a multitude of quaint customs had sprung up around the holy days. For these were the holidays of the people in "Merrie England," when they gathered first in the Church, then around the maypole, and, lastly, at those feastings on special viands dedicated to special occasions, which, to some extent, live on among us even to this day, although the origin and meaning of them have mostly become lost. From time immemorial, for instance, Christmas cheer was incomplete without its mince-pies and plum pudding, the former emblematic by their shape of the manger-bed and the latter by its rich ingredients of the offerings of the Magi. The pan-cakes of Shrove Tuesday, the simnel cakes of Mid-Lent, the figs of Palm Sunday, we are still attracted by. Even the great fast of the year has its peculiar food in the hot cross bun, a survival of the heathen practice of offering consecrated cakes to the gods—the stamp of the cross probably marks the effort of the Church to give a Christian significance to a practice that was found to be practically ineradicable. Whitsuntide used to have its own special feast, known as Whitsun ales or Church ales—an institution by which money was obtained for the repairing of the Church, helping the poor, and various charitable purposes. The wardens brewed the ale, and on the appointed day half the country side assembled to join in the festivities—music and song, bowls and ball, dice and card-playing, dancing and merry-making—but Crosby would have none of them. The burning of the yule-log in sacrifice to Thor the Thunderer; the use of the mistletoe

mistletoe, that most sacred of all the Druidical plants; and the singing of carols as a memorial of the angelic hymns are still adjuncts to the gaiety and brightness of the Feast of the Nativity.

In 1705 the roof was taken off the middle alley, and the timbers renewed. There is an entry of 3s. 3d. paid to Edward Gibbon for "trailing ye great Beame for ye Middle Alley from Dr. Archer's, Oxenholme." In 1712 the altar piece was repaired, viz. :—Two pediments, two panels, and two gilded flames. The altar rails and vestry door were repainted and the sun-dial repaired in 1715. Between the years 1723-25 the Church was new glazed with large square crown glass, and the best of the old painted glass carefully preserved. Thirteen yards of new stone mullions were found necessary for repairing the south-east Parr Chapel and the north-east Bellingham Chapel windows. In 1724 Vicar Crosby caused neat gravel walks to be made in the Churchyard. In 1725 a new brass vane, bearing the arms of the Corporation of Kendal, was procured at a cost of £2 2s. 6d.—a vane which has now braved the winters of more than 170 years. On December 2nd, 1733, Vicar Crosby preached his last sermon :—"The night is far spent, the day is at hand." Upon the following day he was seized with apoplexy, and on the Friday passed away at eleven o'clock, the same hour that he daily used to go to attend the prayers of the "Church Militant;" he was called to the "Church Triumphant" at the age of 70 years.

During the eleven years of the Rev. Richard Cuthbert's incumbency there is little to record, but the succeeding reign of the Rev. Dr. Symonds is notable as a chapter of accidents. One Sunday, February 21st, 1762, some lead on the roof was thrown up with such violence during a storm, that it broke one of the beams, and so terrified the congregation that they ran out of Church in great confusion

fusion. From the illustration it will be noticed how tall the tower pinnacles were at this period; indeed, two-and-a-half times taller than they now are. Great was the consternation therefore, when, in the following month, one of them fell through the roof during divine service. The circumstance is quaintly recorded, and concludes by saying that "it did no other damage than break a poor woman's leg in her hurry to get out of the Church." Needless to say, all the other pinnacles were immediately looked to, and at once shortened to their present size. Upon another occasion, in May, 1767, again during service, the congregation were terrified by an earthquake shock, accompanied by a great rumbling noise. Thieves broke into the little vestry by lifting the lead covering to the roof on September 23rd, 1775, and stole the communion plate, which was never recovered. It consisted of three silver flagons (one weighing 90 ounces), two silver gilt cups, two silver salvers, and one or two smaller cups of silver. Again, five years later, the new set was likewise stolen, but this time, the thieves were disappointed as they found it to be only plated; so that in disgust they threw it into a neighbouring field, and left it there in a battered and bruised condition. The plate was again stolen in April, 1836.

It was in the year 1787 that the Rev. Dr. Symonds, then in his 78th year, buried Alderman Francis Drinkell, a hosier and noted florist, owning a vegetable garden where Lowther Street now is. The Vicar's friendship for poor Drinkell was evidently collateral with his great love for peas, for while reading the burial service, he suddenly stopped short and exclaimed to the sexton, quite audibly enough for all to hear—"Aye, but Tom, where shall we set our peas next year?"

The old "Bell House," situated in the north-west corner of the Churchyard, and which had been for many years rented to Zechariah Wright as a plumber's shop, was

A VIEW OF KENDAL CHURCH AND ABBOT HALL. A House belonging to George Wilson Esq.r
To whom this PLATE is Humbly Dedicated: & to the Rev.d Mr. Symonds Vicar of Kendal. By their Most Humble Ser.t J. Ainslie.

(TO FACE P. 174.)

was removed in 1790, and the proceeds from the sale of its materials paid for the erection of some new seats, filling the space of the "old middle cross aisle" on either side of the nave.

About this time the churchwardens made a habit of leaving the Church, during the ante-communion service, to visit the public-houses in search of non-attenders, whom they reported to the Church authorities for prosecution. For it must be remembered that every one who failed to attend divine service in some authorised place of worship, every Sabbath morning, was subjected to a fine of twelve pence if thus detected. As further proof of their zeal, they seldom returned without bringing with them some poor little urchins caught playing, whom they would place in front of the pulpit with their spells and knurs, catsticks and balls, held erect in their hands. It is said that the wardens found this visitation of the public-houses a very refreshing duty.

This naturally leads me to write a word or two about the punishment called "public penance," which formed no uncommon portion of the Church procedure during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In its milder form, those persons who were so unlucky as to be caught by the wardens wilfully disobeying their authority, or who were charged before the Ecclesiastical Courts for defaming the character of a lady, or such like, were ordered to appear and stand during service in a conspicuous part of the Parish Church on the following Sunday, arrayed in a white sheet. The ordeal was a most trying one, and sometimes little deserved. But the more rigorous penance for immorality prior to marriage, or adultery after, seems to me to have been of a very salutary nature. On such occasions the brute of a man, and the poor woman who bore unhusbanded a mother's name, were ordered to appear on three successive Sundays before the whole congregation, being bare-headed, bare-foot, and bare-legged, enwrapped

enwrapped in a white sheet, and holding a white wand. Immediately after the reading of the Gospel they were publicly ordered to stand upon a form before the pulpit, and repeat the following confession at the dictation of the clergyman :—"Whereas I, good people, forgetting my duty to the Almighty God, have committed the detestable sin, and have provoked the wrath of God against me to the great danger of my soul, and evil example of others : I do earnestly repent, and am heartily sorry for the same, desiring Almighty God, for the merits of Jesus Christ, to forgive me both this and all other offences, and also ever hereafter to assist me with His Holy Spirit that I may never fall into the like offence again ; and for that end and that purpose, I desire you all here present to pray for me, saying, 'Our Father, which art in heaven,'" and so forth. There is an entry in the Churchwarden's Book for 1672 as follows :—"Recd. from Lawrence Chambers and Robert Bateman when yey pform'd penance 12s. towards buying ye Book of Martyrs." The last person who did penance in the Church was Bella Rennison about the year 1794, who was brought from the House of Correction arrayed in a white sheet, and stood in front of the pulpit during the whole of the morning service.

The Church improvements, inaugurated with the commencement of the nineteenth century, followed very soon after that marked revolution in the manners and customs of Westmorland, when our people insensibly lost the singularities that characterised the preceding ages. The opening of the turnpike roads, which introduced the customs of the capital into this remote and then sequestered corner of the kingdom, and the consequent extension of commerce, was the principal circumstance effecting this. Fortunately, the Church possessed at the time a very able Vicar—the Rev. Henry Robinson—who, by his dauntless energy, raised sufficient money between the years 1800 and 1806 to undertake the complete repair of all the main timbers in the roof. As

As far back as the year 1702 a small gallery had been erected at the west end of the nave, half way between the first and second columns, to accommodate the organ; and I find that one hundred years later, a vestry meeting was held on the fifth day of May, 1800, at which it was resolved unanimously :—"That application be made to the Ordinary for a faculty to extend the organ gallery in the said Church from the north and south ends according to a plan then produced, to be vested in trust in the Vicar of the said parish, and in the Mayor, Recorder, and two senior Aldermen of the burgh of Kirkby Kendal and their successors for the time being. That the said trustees be empowered to borrow money for the erection of the said gallery on security of the seats to be placed in the same, which seats must be let to farm for as much rent as may reasonably be had for them; and that the said trustees shall, after paying the interest of the money borrowed, pay such part of the rents and profits arising therefrom, as the major part of them shall think proper, towards the augmentation of the organist's salary, and the remainder of the rents and profit to be by them laid out in repairs and ornaments of the Church, or in paying off such part of the principal money as they may chuse." Signed by H. Robinson (Vicar), Thomas Holme Maude (Mayor), and the four Williams—Pennington, Moore, Berry, and Fisher. The faculty was granted on the 10th of July, and the gallery extended at a cost of £193 6s. 3d., "for the accommodation of the inhabitants," as if the space of the floor had been insufficient for the congregation! This was done by throwing out two curved wings across the inner aisles, which finished at the third column, having intermediate supports of oaken Corinthian pillars. The mortgage appears to have been paid off in 1817, after which time the rents were appropriated in augmenting the salary of the organist, in paying a salary to a singing master, giving an annual treat to the singers, in painting the

the rails of the Churchyard when required, or in such other small matters as the trustees thought proper. This frightful obstruction to the dignity of the arcades remained until the year 1847, when, presumably owing to the building of the two new Churches in the town dedicated to St. Thomas and St. George, it was demolished. New stones can be seen inserted in the aisle columns to fill up the gaps formerly holding the supports of the gallery.

Vicar Matthew Murfitt seems to have rested upon the labours of his predecessor, as we have no record of any structural alterations made in his time beyond some slight improvement to the doors and entrances. However, in December of 1813, we do find that a vestry meeting was held for the purpose of considering the necessity of airing the church by stoves. At this time, also, the "Sanctus Bell" was removed from the roof of the Bellingham Chapel to the tower.

At the beginning of the year 1815, the Rev. John Hudson, M.A., became Vicar, and inaugurated that spirit of revival which resulted in what is known as the first great restoration of 1829. His first act, however, was one of destruction. That wondrous Gothic canopy, from 10 to 12 feet in height and painted blue, which was suspended over the ancient font, was removed in 1818.

A proposal to enclose with railings the Churchyard at a cost of £387, at first rejected in August, 1816, was by his indomitable energy adopted in 1822; and when it is remembered that those beautiful wrought iron gates which adorn the present entrance took the place of some rotten wooden fencing and turnstiles, they must ever be regarded as a permanent tribute to his zeal for the Church. The Kirkland stocks were likewise removed, and placed just outside against the wall of the "Ring o' Bells." At this time, also, the Vicar opened out a gateway from the Glebe House into the Churchyard, and railed off a narrow path leading therefrom up to his new Church gates. This improvement, however, greatly offended public opinion by reason

reason of its traversing ground that was full of graves. It is probable that the Churchyard formerly extended further westward than it does at present, for in 1862 the workmen employed in digging a trench for the new gas main in Kirkland came upon a quantity of human bones and skulls, lying some four feet below the surface of the street. A portion of a tombstone was also found, bearing date 1630 clearly marked upon it. In all likelihood, fully one-half of the width of the present street and the land on which the buildings south of No. 27, Kirkland, now stand, formed part of the ancient Churchyard.

Hudson then seems to have turned his attention to the inside of the sacred building, and it must be remembered that probably nothing had been done to clean the walls since they were so fantastically decorated in 1684. In October, 1828, he had the courage to clear the whitewash and paint from off two of the columns, and then to invite the public to say whether or not they would have the whole of the Church thus cleansed and restored by public subscription. Such an improvement, which revealed the ashlar work, was at once obvious to all, so that the good man's heart rejoiced as he at length closed the Church on February 22nd, 1829, and set about his restoration. Thus not only was the ancient credence table discovered on the first column from the east end, but it was also seen that the greater proportion of the columns were built of freestone, with the notable exception of one of the large massive pillars supporting the tower, which is of limestone, and that the next two had courses of limestone also inserted. It is conjectured that the freestone was brought from the ruins of the Roman station at Watercrook, and at first formed part of the ancient Saxon Church on this site. The same kind of freestone is found in the structure of the Castle.

It is not known when the old rood screen* was re-

* The word *rood* or *rod* is of Saxon origin and signifies a cross or crucifix. When the Reformation came all roods were swept away by order.

moved

moved, but there are corbels existing on the pillars of the chancel pointing to a time when a beam rested upon them. Vicar Hudson erected an elaborate Gothic plaster chancel arch across the nave, filled the spandrils with trefoils and quatrefoils, and surmounted the whole with a battlemented top, from which hung down the old colours presented to the Volunteers by the Hon. Mrs. Howard of Levens in 1803. Unfortunately, the old piscina at the altar of the Holy Trinity, which was then in a mutilated state, instead of being restored, was ruthlessly taken out and destroyed. The piscina at the altar of St. Thomas-a-Becket, then known as the Chambre Chapel, was allowed to remain until the later restoration of 1850.

Outside the west wall of the inner north aisle will be seen the marks of an old doorway giving the bell-ringers access by a steep wooden stair to the belfry floor, which was then on a level with the sill of the great window. But as it was found to be as easy an egress to the "Ring o' Bells," the doorway was blocked up, the staircase removed, and another entrance to the loft made from off the spiral tower stair. This new doorway can still be seen in the northern jamb of the west window.

The bell loft at first was only shut off from the nave by a balustrading between the columns of the tower, and whilst the sexton was ringing the "evening bell," boys made a habit of gathering in the loft to play around the ropes. Upon one occasion, it is reported that a lad, swinging upon one of them, hitched against this railing and, loosening his hold, fell over and broke his thigh. A sad occurrence truly, but what was the consequence? To prevent similar accidents the enlightened wardens studded up partitions between the arches, plastered around the loft, and entirely blocked the west window from view. It would seem that this was both easier and more consistent with their notions of decency than the alternative course

INTERIOR LOOKING EAST, 1830.

(TO FACE P. 180.)

INTERIOR LOOKING WEST, 1830.

(TO FACE P. 181.)

course of preventing the boys from playing in the Church!

I have succeeded in finding in London two most interesting water-colour paintings of the Church, made by Richard Stirzaker immediately after the restoration was completed, and by the kindness of the owner, I have been enabled to photograph them for illustration to this paper. The one taken from the west end gives a very true impression of the beauty of the old flat wainscot ceiling over the nave, with the clerestory windows and fine arches beneath. Beyond is seen the "chancel beam," supporting the King's Arms and the Ten Commandments, with the old Kendal and Lonsdale Volunteer colours hanging on either side; whilst in the foreground John Jennings, the sexton, stands in his knee-breeches and long swallow-tailed coat superintending the laying of a flag over a vault beside one of the massive tower columns. The other, taken from the east end, is perhaps even more interesting, as it shows the old square communion rails, and Bishop Jewel's "Defence of the Apology of the Church of England," * fastened by a chain to a chancel column for public reading. This interesting volume is now in the Glebe Library. Beyond is the "three-decker" pulpit standing against a column one bay further west than at present, and at the far end is seen the old gallery and organ with its crown and mitres.

On the 11th day of April, 1844, the Rev. Joseph Watkins Barnes, M.A., became Vicar. He immediately caused the roughcast with its yellow and black decoration to be removed from the exterior walls, and the joints neatly pointed in grey mortar. The old cradle, so long used for hoisting up the whitewashers to the steeple, remained in a corner of the Church for a few years longer

* "A defence of the Apologie of the Churche of Englande, conteininge an answeare to a certaine booke lately set foorthe by M. Hardinge, and entitled, A confutation of 'The Apologie of the Churche of Englande.'" By John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury. London, 1567: folio.

as

as a relic of those whitewashing days. Eighteen months later, attention was called to the dampness of the fabric by reason of the Churchyard being mostly from four to five feet above the level of the floor, whereupon, with characteristic energy, Barnes set himself the unenviable and delicate business of gaining consent to remove many grave stones in order to lower the yard to its present level.

As has been already said, the great cumbersome organ gallery at the west end was removed in the year 1847, together with the hideous bell-loft. The organ was placed on the floor against the main west doors, and the bell-ringers were provided with a proper belfry chamber in the tower. Notwithstanding the unfortunate blocking of the doors, the opening up of the old west window to the nave was of such great advantage to the general aspect of the interior, that it more than compensated for the loss. Truly this was a good beginning and a happy foretaste of the great work which this young Vicar set so earnestly about to accomplish.

The coming events, of which the former were but shadows, could not be delayed for long. The mind of the congregation was being irresistibly awakened to the awful decay of their neglected Church; they were slow to realise it perhaps, yet the day had to come, and with almost a shock the inhabitants at last read the following report from Mr. Crowther, of Manchester:—"In October, 1848, I accidentally visited the Church. It would be difficult to describe the wretched condition of the fabric. Centuries of neglect or injudicious repair had resulted in leaking roofs, walls green with mouldering damp, columns more than their diameter out of the perpendicular and tottering to their fall, pews of every shape and size, windows of post-Reformation date and the vilest character architecturally—a tout-ensemble presenting about as melancholy a spectacle of neglect, ruin, and irreverence as imagination could conceive." But such a report was too

PRESENT INTERIOR, LOOKING EAST.

(TO FACE P. 183.)

too much even for the bravest. All the wind seemed to vanish from their sails, and for two years they could do no more than re-chisel and repair the old circular-headed door at the end of the north aisle, together with the windows on either side of it.

Dr. William Whewell, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, in writing to his sister, under date September 22nd, 1850, says:—"I went to Kendal while I was staying with James Marshall at Coniston. I found they had disclosed the foundations of the chancel piers only the day before, and the result was they were in such a condition that all who saw them wondered they had stood so long: especially one old lady who had been in the habit of sitting near the most dangerous pier seemed quite shocked at the danger which she had escaped." As a consequence of this timely visit, Dr. Whewell determined immediately to make a representation of the matter to his College, and we find that they quickly issued an order for the underpinning and rebuilding of these columns, and also for the complete restoration of the whole chancel.

The following month saw the great restoration commenced, and the old St. George's Chapel in the Market Place cleaned and put into a state of decent repair for the temporary occupation of the congregation, as far as space would allow. Pulling down first the east wall with the little old vestry behind, the College rebuilt the buttressed gable and filled their new east window with pale green antique glass. The old window was wider than the one now erected, and, curiously like to the one in the other church at Kirkby-in-Lonsdale, was not centrally placed. It had five main lights, subdivided above the transome into ten, with cinqfoil heads. The centre compartment contained some four or five square feet of stained glass, which tradition said came from Furness Abbey, and the side-lights some two or three feet more. Indeed, there was only just so much left as to excite regret for that holy

holy enthusiasm which levelled its fury in olden time against this most beautiful of the ancient arts. The best of the glass was sent to the Museum for preservation, and the rest was subsequently incorporated with the most north-easterly of the clerestory windows. The well-carved corbels on the east wall supporting the chancel arcade were not executed until the year 1868. But the old communion rails, which were three-sided, as is well illustrated in the view of the interior looking west, were straightened at this time and set back some five feet.

The College then removed the plaster arch erected by Vicar Hudson and extended the chancel one bay further west, cutting short the nave with four clerestory windows by so much, leaving eight on either side instead of ten. The six chancel columns were entirely rebuilt, and the roof, hitherto low and unsightly, was replaced by one of more elaborate design and raised to the height of the original roof. A wooden hammer-beam chancel arch was thrown across the nave, having tracery spandrils resting on angel corbels, bearing shields with the emblems of the Passion carved upon them. In the base of the column nearest to the altar on the south side was hewn out a chamber about seven inches by four, into which a number of different European coins were deposited; also, a glass bottle hermetically sealed, containing the Vicar's address on the subject of the restoration, a list of subscriptions, and a piece of vellum setting forth that this pillar and five others in the Church were rebuilt A.D. 1850, &c., &c.

John Mann, one of the churchwardens, gave some of the old carved capitals, corbels, and mullions to his friend the Rev. Edward Hawkes, minister of the Unitarian Chapel, and some of these are still to be seen ornamenting a rockery at the burial ground in the Market Place. There is an especially fine carved capital there which I would fain see restored to the old Church, and there taken care of by the Vicar. But

BEFORE THE RESTORATION IN 1850, SHEWING THE OLD WEST PORCH.

(BETWEEN PP. 185-6.)

AFTER THE RESTORATION IN 1850, SHEWING THE NEW WEST PORCH.

(BETWEEN PP. 185-6.)

But, since the rest of the fabric was as badly dilapidated as the chancel, the parishioners, stimulated by the energy, sacrifice, and determined perseverance of their Vicar, also set to work, and almost completely overhauled what was left untouched by the College patrons. The roof was made open, and thus raised some 18 feet at the apex higher than the old flat oak ceiling, which was panelled with painted ribs and rosettes at the intersections, similar to the Parr Chapel. It will be noticed that the string course below the clerestory on the north side is lower and the windows are larger than those on the south side. The west end wall was next attacked. By removing the organ to the Bellingham Chapel, it became necessary to do something with the white painted main entrance doors and the dilapidated window above. The doors were rebuilt and widened, and the window redressed with fresh tracery. Upon the exterior of one of the mullions will be seen a well carved horse-shoe for good luck.

The peculiarly wide porch of the fourteenth century was then demolished to make way for the present erection. On the southern side there was a priest's door, with a four-light window beside it, and within was a holy stoup. There is still to be seen on the outer face of the wall a line showing where the flashing of this wide roof came. I have thought it well to put the two elevations of this western façade close together, so that the round-headed arch of the central door and the odd-looking ancient porch can be compared with the work of this restoration. Below the new porch a heating chamber was excavated to take the place of the six old ugly stoves; and it is said, but I cannot vouch for the fact, that the hot-water pipes now required to heat the Church from this chamber, measure about one mile in length.

At this restoration it was also noticed that the bases of the chancel columns were several feet below the then level of the chancel floor, and that the base levels of the whole

whole nave arcade gradually rose upwards to the western end. It was therefore decided to restore this ancient slope once again, and in order to show the bases fully, some nine inches of ground had to be excavated away from the west end and no less than three feet from the east end—an excavation which not only discovered a number of silver and copper coins of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth's time, but also necessitated the removal of "cart-loads" of human bones. It was also discovered that the base of the Sandes' column, being the fifth on the north side from the east end and upon which his monument was erected, had an ornamental band upon it worthy of notice. Previously the aisles had been paved with squares and diamonds of buff and blue paving flags, and upon their being taken up they were used as coping stones, and can now be seen on the Glebe House garden wall.*

The old square and high-backed pews, none of which had any interesting feature about them — excepting perhaps the large and high-curtained pew of the Hall situated against the third column from the east in the outer north aisle, and which was lined with blue cloth and plentifully garnished with brass-headed nails—was removed, and the entire Church re-seated with low open benches. The four carved oak bench-ends of the old clerk's pew alone were kept, and they are now framed into the present front choir stalls. The carving upon the new choir stalls and the different designs on the nave bench-ends is decidedly good, and worthy of a better material than stained pitch pine. Seats were provided in the north aisle and raised tier above tier for the boys from the Blue Coat School, National School, and Jennings' Yard School. And at the same time, the Abbot

* Since writing this, the wall has just been taken down and a low dwarf wall with iron railings substituted in its place; a vast improvement which throws open the gardens around the Glebe House.

Hall

Hall doorway beneath the third north window from the east was blocked up.

The renovation of the old black marble font was undertaken by the ladies of the town, and private subscription enabled them to raise it on a massive base in the form of a Maltese Cross, and to pave the baptistry floor with encaustic tiles. The font cover has been erected recently in memory of the late Venerable Archdeacon Cooper.

At this time, also, the Bellingham Chapel was re-roofed by the Hon. Mrs. Howard, and the old elaborate oak ceiling—then much decayed—was replaced with a new one of similar design in a rather unsuccessful imitation of the rich fretwork and stalactitic ornaments of the same period in stone. It is adorned with gilt bosses containing the bugle horn and other bearings, the cognizances of the Bellingham family. Two of the clerestory windows in this chapel were many years before blocked up, and it is to be regretted that at this restoration they were not again opened out.

Finally, six stained glass windows were presented, and the whole of the clerestory windows in the nave were re-glazed by private gifts. When the congregation reassembled on June 3rd, 1852, they must have felt it difficult to conceive that they were worshipping, indeed, in the same Church. It is worthy of note that during the whole time of this restoration morning prayers were said in the building, even when the roof was off. Since then, in the year 1854, the windows of the north aisle, except the Bellingham Chapel, were re-glazed in diamond quarries instead of the old square crown glass put in in 1723. The Churchyard was closed for burials on September 9th, 1855; and in April, 1857, Christopher Gardener presented a new tower clock.

On August 15th, 1858, the Rev. John Cooper, M.A., became Vicar. In the year 1862, the plain perpendicular window of the Strickland Chapel was filled with appropriate

appropriate tracery in harmony with the corresponding window of the north central aisle, and glazed with the antique green glass which was taken out of the great east window. Unfortunately, the freestone string course, introduced with such good effect under the windows on the south-west side of the Church, and which was one of the features so much insisted on by the architect of the restoration, was omitted below this window.

The restoration of the south-east corner of the Church was commenced on the 23rd day of May, 1864. The walls were strengthened by a plain chamfered plinth of freestone with limestone base, and also by the re-building of all the buttresses excepting one. A moulded freestone string-course was also inserted, with projecting square blocks and gurgoyles, and the whole surmounted with crocketted pinnacles and a battlement. The six windows to the south, including the old priests' door and one to the east, were entirely rebuilt, and the roofs over both aisles, including the chapels, were re-timbered. The limestone sun-dial in the Churchyard was erected in September, 1866.

During the progress of these works, costing some £2,200 and lasting over a period of twelve months, divine service was never interfered with or suspended. The beautiful Caen stone dado, presented by Mr. T. A. Argles in memory of the late Tobias Atkinson and of Elizabeth his wife, was completed in 1867. The centre part from the floor to the window sill consists of an arcade of nine pointed Gothic arches, surmounted with a vine leaf cornice and crest of exquisite tracery. The pillars are of polished Kendal Fell marble, with crowned and mitred heads at the springing of the arches. On each side of the window are high curved niches, surmounted by a carved canopy, within which—on the bend—are painted the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer. A good story is told of the late Archdeacon Cooper,

ELEVATION SHEWING THE NEW EAST WALL TO THE BELLINGHAM CHAPEL.

(TO FACE P. 189.)

Cooper, that when he was appealed to by a clergyman as to whether it was right to remove the Ten Commandments from the east end, he replied :—" My dear sir, at my Church they have already bent them, and, I am afraid, will before long break them ; so that by removing them you, at least, would prevent such an evil."

The restoration of the two north roofs, except that over the Bellingham Chapel, was commenced on July 6th, 1868; unfortunately, after all the experience of oft-repeated decay, they were only executed in pitch pine. At the same time it was found necessary to re-build certain portions of the north west wall, one new buttress facing west was added, the angle one re-built, and a battlemented parapet erected the full length of the north side to match that on the south side, with diabolical gurgoyles to frighten away the evil spirit which superstition always assigns to the north side of a church. All along in the cornice are placed at intervals several free-stone pateræ cut in divers devices and monograms, among which latter may be noticed J.C., for John Cooper, Vicar; J.S.C., for Joseph S. Crowther, Architect; W.G.R., for William Grayson Rigden, Curate ; F.S., for Francis Scawell, Curate ; and the date 1868 in antique figures. At the same time, the pateræ and gurgoyles on the south wall left unfinished in 1864 were likewise carved with devices and monograms.

In 1869-70, the east end of the Bellingham Chapel was taken in hand by the Honourable Mrs. Howard, and re-built with two new tracery windows to match the rest of the building. In place of the three clerestory windows above these, the architect inserted a rose window with twelve trefoil cups radiating from a cusped sexfoil centre. The old square crown glass, the last remnant of the 1723 glazing, was taken out and replaced with diamond panes of a slightly greenish hue. The raking battlements of the western pediments of the south aisles have also been re-

built

built with a new freestone buttress, surmounted with a pinnacle at the south-west angle, the old one having become unsafe.

Gas was introduced for the first time on Advent Sunday, November 28th, 1869; there were in all 580 burners, and the cost was about £200. It is curious to learn that before this—on great occasions—the chandeliers at the dissenting chapels were borrowed to add lustre to the services. In 1891, the family of the late G. F. Braithwaite presented to his memory a chiming clock with inner dial, the original outer dial of the 1857 clock being retained. In July, 1893, whilst re-tuning and repairing the framework of the bells, it was discovered that the massive oak beams of the belfry floor were so decayed through damp that they had to be taken out, and a strong concrete floor on iron girders substituted. The same year the heating apparatus was also renewed.

It was from the old green pulpit of 1684 that one of Kendal's worthies, the celebrated Oriental traveller Rev. Thomas Shaw, D.D., preached one Sunday from the text, "A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches," whereupon his drunken brother called out aloud, "So it may be, but how must they do that have neither?"

This green pulpit with its "houre glasse" was removed in the year 1757, not being, so it is said, in harmony with the *new* seats. In its place an oak "three-decker," costing £16, was erected against the fifth south column from the east end, a great clumsy structure which stretched half-way across the nave, and was surmounted with a canopy. It is said to have been of the Roman Doric style, and bore inlaid the date and sacred monogram. Opposite to it on the north column were hung the King's Arms to constantly remind the preacher of his required loyalty, and on the other side of the same column hung Thomas Sandes' monument, with the Alderman's pew immediately below facing southward. Sixty-

six

six years later—June, 1823—Vicar Hudson, who had long been dissatisfied with the position of this pulpit, temporarily erected another in the chancel, and covered it with sixty yards of green cloth and furnished it with a blue cushion and tassels. For one Sunday he preached from it, but on the Monday following Josias Lambert, of Watchfield, took "French leave," and with the assistance of a joiner and an axe demolished the erection, because, as he contended, it blocked up the entrance to his pew. At the time of the great restoration of 1850, the well-carved oak pulpit, raised upon a Caen stone pillar, took the place of the old three-decker, which was sold to be converted into a bedstead — truly a most suitable use, seeing that for so long a period it had been the cause of so many falling away into sleep. When the solid bottom step was being sawn across, a cavity was discovered concealing a paper which bore the date of 1236. Can it possibly be that this paper was put there to commemorate the first pulpit erected in the Early English Church, which was certainly built about this date?

Prior to the end of the seventeenth century the Church was seated with open "fformes," and in those days no stoves warmed the incoming draughts; but after this period, the churchwardens, having consideration for the comfort of the congregation, began to give permission for the erection of closed-in pews. Seven days after Vicar Crosby's induction—on June 29th, 1699—consent was given for the first pew to be erected "att ye first pillar in ye second row of fformes from ye great church doore." We can easily foresee the results of such an arrangement, for those who were thus comfortably accommodated began to look upon the pews as property which could be handed down from father to son. Twenty-one years later, Thomas Lickbarrow was put to the expense of 6s. 10d. in opposing a Mr. Cook for appropriating a pew to himself; and again, in the year 1723, a sum of 4s. was added

added to the churchwardens' expenses when they met at a public-house to consult as to what methods should be taken to oppose a Mr. Crowle's determination of having a pew solely for his own use. On the 12th day of July, 1806, I find the following notice given :—"That a Vestry Meeting of the Churchwardens and Inhabitants of the Parish of Kendal, will be holden in the Parish Church, on Saturday, the twenty-sixth Day of July Instant, at eleven o'clock in the Forenoon, to determine what steps should be taken to remove or Compel to be removed, or to be made public, the Seats or pews lately erected on the South Side of the Chancel, in the said Parish Church. Joseph Garnett, Vestry Clerk." As a result of this meeting, it was agreed that proper steps should be immediately taken to do away with these seats or their appropriation, and that "Messrs. Richardson and Fell be appointed the solicitors to act as they shall think proper or be advised." Two-and-a-half years later another vestry meeting was held on the 21st day of January, 1809, "to consider the impropriety of taking up certain places of sitting in the Church, by Mary Lambert and Ann Lambert, spinsters, and of appropriating the said places of sitting to their own use and benefit, in exclusion of the rest of the said parishioners, etc., etc."

Nevertheless the practice seems to have continued, for the newspapers for 1823 frequently contain complaints respecting this usurpation. Again at the restoration of 1850, when the old higgledy-piggledy pews were replaced by low and open benches, a strong effort was made to break away from this illegal custom, and to throw the whole of the sittings open to the parishioners. But alas! owing to lack of funds, the intention was but short lived, for between the years 1858-9, when the parish was subdivided into 17 district parishes, by Lord Blandford's Act, the mother Church became so straitened in money matters, that the churchwardens were obliged to go back to

to the principle of raising rents upon allotted seats. Contrary as it undoutedly is to the essential characteristic of a parish church, yet from this time the old custom seems to have revived.

That there had been an organ in the Church long prior to the year 1657 there can be no doubt, for in the churchwardens' books of that date there is an inventory, concluding "with some organ pypes and old iron nayled up in a chest neare Sir Thomas Strickland Quire." Then in a deed poll bearing date 22nd February, 1698, we find that Jennet Wilson, second wife of Alderman William Wilson, a tanner, did appoint that her trustees should permit the mayor, recorder, two senior aldermen, vicar and schoolmaster, and their successors for ever to hold "all that close or parcel of Ground called Haverbrack lying in Kendal Park" (worth about £18 a year) upon trust that they and their successors for ever might consent and employ the clear rents, issues, and profits thereof yearly for and towards a stipend to an organist (by the major part of them to be elected and approved of) for playing every Sabbath day "upon a pair of Organs in the Parish Church of Kirkby Kendal."

On January 21st, 1701, "Vicar Crosby met Mr. Mayor and ye Churchwardens to consult about ye organ loft building." Accordingly, in the following year we find that at the west end of the Church the old loft was taken down and a new and larger one erected in its place at a cost of £87 14s. 6d., and that 2d. was spent upon a broom to sweep it! Upon this a new organ was built at a cost of £500, and as some say by Bernard Schmidt, organist at the Collegiate Church, Manchester, from 1682-1696. Here is a lively description of it:—"The broad masses of richly gilt pipes, the frieze, the Bishop's mitres on the side towers, the Crown on the centre tower, with the carving of the Acanthus leaf flowing gracefully round the feet of the tiers of pipes. The gallery front a muddle of the

the Ionic and Corinthian orders, with a large Clock face in the centre, the rest past description. All made of good English oak, and then *painted and grained in imitation of oak*, until it resembled no wood at all." After the organ was finished, Mr. Preston, organist of Ripon Minster, came to judge and try the instrument. The organ had at first only one manual from GG to D in alt., nine stops, and 672 pipes. Robert Strickland was the organist.

On either side under this loft was a large square pew for which a payment was made towards the organist's salary; these pews remained *in situ* for one hundred years, *i.e.*, until the year 1801, when they were removed to allow of the side wing extensions to the gallery.

The churchwardens' accounts for this period furnish us with some curious items. For instance, in 1706 there is an item of 6d. for a key for the organ, and in the following year one of 3s. "payd more at a meeting of ye church wardens and ye repaire of ye organ." How much of this 3s. was spent at the social meeting at the "Ring o' Bells" and how much on the organ is left to the imagination. It seems that in 1710 it was thought advisable to buy a "lock for ye organ lofte," yet, nevertheless, in 1714 the instrument was in such a very bad state of dilapidation, that on July 21st it was found necessary for the wardens to repair to the inn once again, and spend 2s. 2d. to consult about "repairing the large pipes in ye front of ye organ, which were in danger of falling out." Could it possibly have been the dogs that created so much trouble to the fine old instrument? For from this time forward and until 1793 the organ blower received his salary for "bellows blowing and dog whipping."

There is a curious custom recorded on the authority of Mrs. Maude (who died in 1831 at the age of 88) and of A. Yeates (who died in 1837, aged 93) as in vogue about 1770-80. The severity of long voluntaries upon the organ, which sometimes lasted twenty minutes, was mitigated as

as follows:—"The elite of the congregation, dressed out in the very height of fashion, as they always were on Sunday, used to leave their seats to promenade the aisles, backwards and forwards, chatting and strutting about till the music ceased, when they would complacently return to their high-backed pews, gaudily lined with some bright coloured cloth and shining brass-headed nails, and, being once more snugly ensconsed, would immediately fall into sleep."

But to return again to the poor organ which had stood for 88 years. The end of "Father Smith's" instrument came at last, for on April the 6th, 1790, it was doomed to a complete transformation and repair. The tone was lowered by one note in order to bring it to concert pitch, a swell organ was added with six stops (25 pipes), and a trumpet stop to the Smith manual of 56 pipes, in order, it is said, to make it suitable for public concerts. Several of these sacred concerts were held at irregular intervals, in conjunction with similar ones of a secular character held at the Woolpack Yard Theatre, and together they formed a musical festival usually extending over three or four days.

In 1791 David Jackson was appointed organist, and we find that on the 29th and 30th days of August, 1792, the first of these festivals was held under his direction and that of Mr. Meredith. "The band was full and well chosen, and the company was exceedingly genteel and respectable." Wednesday morning was devoted to a "A Grand Selection of Sacred Music from the Works of Handel" in the Church, and at the theatre in the evening there was "A Grand Miscellaneous Concert." On the Thursday morning the Church was again filled to hear the sacred oratorio of the "Messiah." On the race-course there was the further attraction of horse-racing in the afternoon, and in the evening a ball took place at the "King's Arms." Oh, the mixture of it! It would seem, however,

however, that the total receipts of £220 were not considered adequate to defray the expenses of the undertaking.

The second festival, which proved a financial success, was held on the 12th, 13th, and 14th days of September, 1801. On this occasion there were only three meetings held, the first being at the theatre on Monday evening the 12th, when "A Select Band of Instrumental Performers and the Celebrated Lancashire Catch and Glee Singers" gave a miscellaneous concert; the second on Tuesday morning at the Church, when various pieces selected from the oratorios of the "Messiah" and the "Redemption" were given; and the third again at the theatre on the Wednesday evening. The *Lancaster Gazetteer* for October 3rd, 1801, records that they "were well attended by a numerous and genteel audience, many of whom came from a considerable distance. The performances throughout were extremely well received."

In 1805 the organ was again repaired at an expense of £350, and a "choir organ" was superadded containing eight stops (560 pipes).

The author has also in his possession a bill-poster, announcing the last of the Grand Musical Festivals that were held in the Church, for October 17, 18, 19 and 20, 1815, and which is recorded as being "one of the grandest things ever known both in Church and Play House." The price for single tickets at the Church and at the boxes and pit of the theatre was 7s. 6d. each. The gallery 3s. 6d. On the mornings of the 18th and 20th two grand selections from the "Creation," "Requiem," and "Mount of Olives," were performed at the Church, and on the 19th morning was given "The Messiah." On the 17th, 19th, and 20th evenings, miscellaneous concerts were given in the Theatre, Woolpack Yard, and on the evening of the 18th a grand ball was given at the "King's Arms."

It must not be thought, however, that these festivals in the

the Church met with unanimous approval from all, for I have before me some tracts and two bills, which were posted by John Pearson, the minister of the Inghamite Chapel, one on the Parish Church door and the other in Stricklandgate near the theatre. They certainly are very curious reading, but by reason of their sincere earnestness I desire to respect them. Doubtless these tracts had the effect of putting a stop to the continuance of the festivals in the Church, for the next meeting of the Harmonic Society, which took place on the 18th of December, 1816, I find was confined to the Theatre Royal. On this occasion "A grand Selection of Sacred Music chiefly from the compositions of G. F. Handel with instrumental accompaniments" was given under the leadership of Mr. Parrin, organist of Penrith. Mr. Jackson, organist of Kendal, presiding at the pianoforte.

Thomas Scarisbrick was appointed organist on 21st December, 1822, a position which he held till his lamented death on February 26th, 1869. In the following March our greatly esteemed William Burton Armstrong, then organist at St. Thomas's, was elected to fill his place. In 1825 an octave of pedal pipes was added (13 pipes), there being no room in the gallery for more than that number. When the old organ gallery was removed in the year 1847, the organ was placed on the floor against the west doors, but at the restoration of 1850 it was entirely remodelled and taken away to the Bellingham Chapel. What is known as the Armstrong organ is an entirely new instrument (by Willis, London), built in the year 1877, and is now situated in the Chambre or St. Thomas-a-Becket's Chapel.

When it is remembered that the Churchyard formed at one time a common playground, that the old Grammar School was adjacent, and that the boys of bygone generations were not much behind the boys of to-day in their stone-throwing propensities, it is not surprising to find

find that there is little left of the old glass. The oldest bits of stained work still preserved are undoubtedly those small pieces now inserted into the modern windows of the Strickland and Bellingham Chapels. No other glass dates further back than the restoration of 1850-2, when the 16 clerestory windows, the great west window, the two west north-outer-aisle windows, the Baptistry window, the Bellingham Chapel and the Chambre Chapel windows were presented.

There are three altar tombs—one in each of the three remaining chapels—and each one is of considerable interest. The Strickland tomb is of sandstone, with a dark marble top, without any inscription or date; but is probably of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It carries two shields, bearing the arms of Strickland, Deincourt, and Neville—viz., 1 and 3, a fesse dancette between ten billets, for Deincourt; 2 and 4, three escalop shells, two and one, for Strickland; and the same impaling a saltier, with a mullet pierced, for Neville.

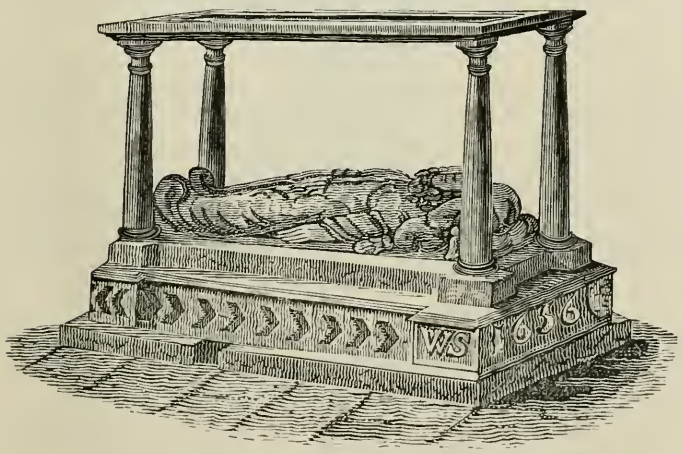
The Parr tomb is of unpolished black marble, likewise without any inscription; but doubtless the remains of Sir William Parr, K.G. (grandfather of Catherine Parr), are buried here, as well as other members of the family. On the north side are shields bearing the arms of Parr, Brus, Fitzhugh, and Roos—1, those of Parr (two barulets), quartered with Roos (three water bougets, two and one); 2, Brus (vaire, one bar); 3, Fitzhugh (three chevrons interlaced). On the east end are all the preceding arms quartered—viz., 1 and 4, Parr, quartered with Roos (the former without the bordure); 2, Parr, quartered with Fitzhugh; 3, Roos, quartered with Brus, and encircled with the garter.

The Bellingham tomb is to Sir Roger Bellingham, and has inlaid several modern brass plates, including two effigies and four escutcheons. Upon a separate plate is a restored inscription taken from the *History of Richmondshire.*

shire. The original brasses were lost generations ago; but Mr. John Broadbent, a descendant of the Bellinghams, refilled the matrix in 1863. William Garside, of this town, engraved the effigies of Sir Roger and Margaret his wife to precisely the same shape and size as the old ones.

The tomb originally stood upon the south side of the chapel, as can be seen from the rough unfinished edges of the top stone, and the two freestone shields once lost, but fortunately again discovered in 1862 in the Unitarian Burial Ground, were originally fixed upon the north or left side. They bear the following arms quartered:— 1, A bugle horn, stringed, being the original arms of De Bellingchamp, who came over with the Conqueror; 2 and 3, three bendlets on a canton, a lion rampant, for Burneshead; 4, three bugle horns, stringed, two and one, for the Sussex branch of the Bellingham family.

There is also in the Strickland Chapel, under a raised canopy of black marble, the figure of a boy in alabaster,



dressed in a loose gown, the features much defaced and cut all over. Around the base runs a chevron-like ornament, with the initials "W. S." and the date 1656 raised in

in sunk panels at the end. Around the margin of the tablet is inlaid a border of white marble, on which is inscribed:—"This pvre refined strvctvre does containe Natvres compleatest peece where every graine waits for a gloriovs vnion and appears shrin'd in parentall sighs and marble teares." In the same chapel there is a solid marble urn, in memory of Captain William Philip Strickland, who died at St. Domingo in 1795. It was discovered a few years ago in a barn at Standish, and brought here to be placed with the other family monuments.

Mrs. Frances Strickland, whose grave is near by—the brass being preserved in the Bellingham Chapel—was born, married, and buried on the 24th June, 1690, 1708, and 1725 respectively:—

> "Emblem of Temporal Good! The Day that gave
> Her Birth and Marriage, saw her in the Grave;
> Wing'd with its native Love, her soul took flight
> To Boundless Regions of Eternal Light."

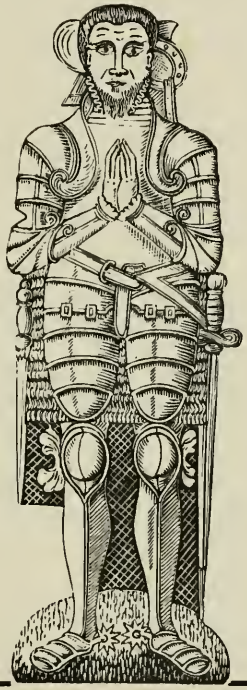
Just outside the doorway lie the remains of Thomas West, author of the *Antiquities of Furness*. He died at Sizergh Castle on the 10th of July, 1779, aged 62; and it is remarkable that no sort of inscription marks his stone.

In the Bellingham Chapel there are several interesting brass plates, which were collected together at the restoration of 1850-2, and especially this one:—

"To the memory of the Most Religious and Orthodox Christian, The most Loyall Subject and most ancient &, Serviceable Member of this Corporation whereof, He was once Alderman and thrice Maior, WILLIAM GUY of Water-Crook Gentleman, who dyed the twenty-fifth day of December, in the Year of { Our Lord MDCLXXXIII / His Age LXXXVI

> "Had Loyalty been Life, Brave Guy thou'd'st Than
> Stood Kendall's Everlasting Alderman

Nay



Here lyeth the bodye of Alan Bellingh'm Esquier,
who maryed Catheryan daughter of Anthonye
Ducket Esquier by whome he had no Children
after whose decease he maryed Dorothie daughter
of Thomas Sandford Esquier of whome he had vii
sonnes & eight daughters, of which 5 sonnes & 7
daughters with ye said Dorothie ar yeat lyving He
was thre score & one year of age and dyed ye 7 of Maye
A.D. m. 1577 (AD.)

Brass in the Bellingham Chapel.

Nay could the joynte united force of All
That's good or vert'ous over death prevaile
Thy life's pure thre'd noe Time or Fate could sever
And thou'dst still Liv'd to pray; King live for Ever.
But Thou art gone; A proof such Vertue is
Too Good for Earth, and onely fit for Bliss,
And Blissful Seats: Where, If bless'd Spirits doe
Concerne themselves with anything below
Thy pray'r's the same, Thou still do'st Supplicate
For Charles His Life, For England's Church and State
Whil'st to Thy just Eternal Memory
Envy and Malice must in this Agree
None better Lov'd, or Serv'd his Prince than Thee."

Another brass is to Alice, the wife of Roger Bateman, who died the 25th day of March, 1637, aged 26 :—

" Shall we entrust a graue with such a guest,
Or thus confine her to a marble chest,
Who though the Indies met in one small roome,
Th'are short in treasure of this pretious tombe,
Well borne, & bred, brought vp to feare & care,
Marriage which makes vp women, made her rare,
Matron & maide with all choyse virtues grac'st
Loueing & lou'd of all, a soule so chast,
Ne're rigg'd for heauen, with whome none dare
Venture their states with her in blisse to share
She liueing virtue's pattern, the poores releife
Her husbands cheifest Joy, now dead, his greife."

Against the wall is a beautiful mural tablet of white and dove-coloured marble in memory of Zachary Hubbersty, the sculptured group of figures representing his widow and six children mourning their loss. It is impossible to imagine anything which conveys a more natural picture of the poignant grief than this group exhibits. The widow is in a recumbent position, surrounded by her offspring; and the figure of an angel is seen pointing upwards, as if bestowing sublime consolation to the widow and fatherless. The drapery is managed in the most masterly style, and the whole is one of the choicest bits

bits executed by the late J. Flaxman, R.A. (1755-1826). One of the children—Mary—afterwards married Richard Chambers, and became the mother of the celebrated Ephraim Chambers of *Encyclopædia* renown.

One of the best known and most sought of the memorials in the Church is that on a brass plate within the communion rails, to "Mr. Ravlph Tirer, late Vicar of Kendall, Batchler of Divinity, who dyed the 4th day of Jvne, Ano: Dni: 1627":—

> "London bredd me, Westminster fedd me,
> Cambridge sped me, my Sister wed me,*
> Study taught me, Liuing sought me,
> Learning brought me, Kendal caught me,
> Labour pressed me, sicknes distressed me,
> Death oppressed me, and graue possessed me,
> God first gaue me, Christ did saue me,
> Earth did crave me, and heauen would haue me"

In the south aisle there is a handsome monument of black marble containing the following tribute to the genius of Romney :—

> "To the Memory of
> GEORGE ROMNEY ESQUIRE,
> the Celebrated Painter;
> who died at Kendal, the 15. Nov. 1802,
> in the 68. year of his age, and was interred
> at Dalton the place of his birth.
> So long as Genius and Talents shall be
> respected his Fame will live."

At the west end of the north aisle there is a monument of white marble in memory of the men of the 55th Regi-

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* It is thought by some that "Sister" here refers to the Church—II. Epistle of St. John, verse 1 and 13—to whom in a spiritual sense he was wed; but the more popular theory is the one set forth by "K. K.," in his letter to the *Westmorland Gazette*, November 22nd, 1862, stating that an old MS. copy of this epitaph had turned up with a footnote saying that "the Vicar had married his wife at the instigation of his sister."

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ment, who were either killed or died from disease during the war with Russia, in Turkey, and the Crimea, in the years 1854 and 1855. At the side of the monument are placed two colours, carried by the regiment in various actions in India, China, &c., up to the year 1850. Above hangs a triangular dragon flag of embroidered satin, being a trophy captured by the regiment at the attack on the forts of Tinghae in the island of Chusan, China, in 1841, which was deposited here with military honours on July 18th, 1874. It is also interesting to notice the colours and belts presented to the old Kendal and Lonsdale Volunteers by the Hon. Mrs. Howard on the 16th January, 1804. They were afterwards transferred to the Militia, and deposited in the Church upon the anniversary of the Battle of Waterloo in June, 1816.

Near the pendant sword, a modern addition, is an ancient helmet, commonly called "the Rebel's Cap," concerning which the following legend is recorded :—During the civil wars of the Commonwealth, there resided in Kendal one Colonel Briggs, a leading magistrate, and an active commander in the Cromwellian army. At the same time a royalist, Robert Philipson, nicknamed from his bold licentious character "Robin the Devil," inhabited the island on Windermere, which, with the estate at Calgarth and some property in Crook, his family possessed for many years. This Colonel Briggs besieged Belle Isle for eight or ten days, until the siege of Carlisle being raised, Huddleston Philipson, of Crook, hastened from Carlisle, and relieved his brother Robert. The next day, being Sunday, Robin, with a small troop of horse, rode to Kendal, to make reprisals. He stationed his men properly in the avenues, and himself rode directly into the Church in search of Briggs, down one aisle and up another. Having gained his object he retreated by way of the western door, in passing beneath which, it is said, his head struck against the archway, when his helmet, unclasped

clasped by the blow, fell to the ground and was retained. On leaving the Churchyard the girths of his horse were cut, and he himself was thrown. Nothing daunted, however, "Robin the Devil," after killing with his own hand the man who had seized him, clapped his saddle once more upon his faithful steed, vaulted into it, ungirthed as it was, and rode full speed through the streets, calling to his men to follow. The legend goes on to state that his helmet was afterwards hung aloft in the Church, as a commemorating badge of sacrilegious temerity. This narrative is still extant in a ballad of the times, entitled "Dick and the Devil," now, of course, extremely rare.

I have been unable to discover any accurate information concerning the bells in our Church tower prior to the Reformation.

From an inventory preserved in the Churchwardens' books made in 1657, mention is made of there being "five bells in the Steeple and ropes for ye bells, an old smale chyme rope, old iron, and a little bell wch hangs at ye north side at ye Church." But it would seem from the following order for repairing and re-hanging, that these bells must have existed for some considerable time previous to this date to have become thus decayed, especially when it is remembered that the woodwork in all probability was the common massive oak of those days. "Made by ye Mayr part of ye Churchwardens, 29 June 1693: Whereas for yeares last past ye Bells have beene much out of Repairs in yr hangeings by reason of their oldnesse and decaydness of their work both of wood and iron, and have cost much monny in patching and mending ye Same and still grows worse and worse, soe yt yr are now some of them not fitt to be Rung, and are looked on in danger of falling, wch thing if it should come to pass would bee greet losse and damage, Wherefore to hang them anew is thought fitt by us Churchwardens here present to be ye best means to prevent such fruitlesse charge and further danger

danger, and this being ye best tyme to provide materialls for ye work and because ye charge at present cannot be computed what it may account too till further consultation abot itt wherefore tis agreed on by vs Churchwardens yt Tho Denyson, Jno Sleddall, Tho Middleton, Christ Hudson, being very meeke men are elected trustees to whome wee Comitt ye whole mangement and carryeing on ye worke wch worke by this means wee believe may bee as well prformed as iff wee were aparent Generally in itt and yt they shall have a reasonable allowance for yr paines and if after yr Consultation about itt according to their discretion an Assessmt answerable be forthwth laid collected and brought in for ye prformance of ye same in due season we each one promise to act and doe our parts accordingly." Here follow the names of nineteen churchwardens, of whom seven are content to make their marks.

The "little bell" above referred to, hung in a turret at the north-east corner of the Bellingham Chapel, and in Roman Catholic days was known as the "Sanctus" Bell, and since then as the "Parson's Bell" or "Tinkler." Several pieces have been knocked off the rim, and we learn from the Churchwardens' books that the Grammar School boys were in the habit of throwing stones at it because it summoned them to school. This bell was removed to the tower in 1804, during the restoration of the Bellingham choir roof where it still hangs, and, I believe, is now used as the "ringing-in" bell.

Of the five bells in the steeple, it would seem that the three largest formed the earliest peal, of which, one at least, came from Shap Abbey, bearing date 1631, and weighing 35cwts. To these three were added two treble bells. And for many years after the commencement of the Churchwardens' account book (1658) we have recurring items for making "five belropes" and for ringing on national days the payment of "5 shillings."

Repairs to the bells and bell frame were made in 1676 and

and 1682, and the clock loft in the steeple was laid in 1685 with a floor of two-inch planks. In 1686 a contract is made betwixt

"William Lawrence of Whittington, Carpinter and Mr Murgatroyd Vichar & ye Chirchwardens both of ye Town & Parish of Kendall, That ye saide William Lawrence is to hang aright and ffinish ye first Bell being yet imperfect and he is to find materials to it as wood and iran and workmanship and he is to have to what as hath been payd him before 2lb more to be payd to him by ye present Chirchwardens for & in consideration of which 2lb when he has done his worke & receives ye money (according to this present contract) he is to enter bound to ye Chirchwardens to uphold ye hanging for the said first Bell of his owne charg for ye term of seven years next following."

The first bell referred to would be the tenor or heaviest bell. In the year 1695 was added the sixth bell, and the memorandum is so interesting that we give it in full :—

"Whereas our Treble or fifth Bell being casually splitt has been twice prsented to ye Comisaryes for being out of Repaire, It is this day concluded and agreed on by ye unanimous consent of ye Churchwardens both of ye Town and Prish with other discreet men of ye same, that ye saine Bell is this yeare to be casten and further yt a Sixt Bell is to be added.

ffor ye prformance of wch wee do contract & Bargan with Mr. Christo: Hodgson Bellfounder—viz: That he is to cast ye splitt Bell and also make a Sixt Bell; And he is to have ye liberty of ye Bell house for his worke wherein he is to build his ffournass of his own charge And he is to continue it there for Three yeares next coming and make use of it if occasion require for ye casting of Bells, And according to contract he is to have for ye Splitt Bell (as it comes to by weight) after ye Rate of 30s per lb and what new metall he adds for ye making it good As also for ye Sixt Bell he is to have after ye rate of 14d per pound.

	c	qr	d
The Splitt Bell when weighed to ye Bellfounder is	11	1	6
When recd Casten is	11	3	1
His addition of Metall	0	1	23
The Sixt Bell when casten and received	9	3	26

The

	£	s.	d.
The Casting of the Old Bell comes to	16	19	0
The New Metall in all comes to	68	03	10
The Tow Bells when rec[d] from Bellfounder	85	2	10

It is further Contracted and Agreed on that he is to have such sums of money paid him in full this yeare except £10 0 0 which he is to have paid him at ye end of a year and a day after ye Bells be hung during w[ch] terme of a yeare & a day if ye Bells ffaile either in Mettale or Hanging he is to make them good at his own charge."

The bell-house above referred to was the little old building situated in the north-west corner of the Churchyard, which stood till the year 1790. "In the days of the early bellfounders," says Mr. William Andrews, "the country roads were little better than miry lanes, full of ruts and holes, and where the moisture of the winter was often not evaporated during the summer. For this reason bells were mostly cast in the immediate vicinity of the churches or monastic establishments they were intended to grace. The monks, too, were not unwilling to retain the usage as an opportunity for a religious service; they stood round the casting pit, and, as the metal was poured into the mould, would chant psalms and offer prayers." Southey, in *The Doctor*, says :—"The brethren stood round the furnace, ranged in processional order, sang the 150th Psalm, and then, after certain prayers, blessed the molten metal, and called upon the Lord to infuse into it His grace and overshadow it with His power, for the honour of the saint to whom the bell was to be dedicated, and whose name it was to bear."

When Queen Anne was crowned it is evident that Kendal had some painstaking ringers, for on April 23rd, 1702, the ringers were paid 10s., "ye Queen's Coronation Day, being 2s. 6d. more than has been lately paid, but it is in consideration of their extraordinary ringing."

The

The great bell from Shap Abbey was re-cast by Abraham Rudhall, of York, in 1711, having for several years been broken, and in 1717 it was again re-cast. In 1774 it again burst, and being so unwieldly in size, taking two men to ring it, and not being tuneable with the rest, it was broken up and re-modelled with other metal into three smaller bells, making a total of eight bells. The first, second, third, and sixth were re-cast, and the fourth and fifth of the old set became the seventh and eighth of the new peal.

In 1788, a long series of rhyming "orders for the better regulation and encouragement of the Art of Ringing" were painted on the plaster over the belfry door. In olden times there appears to have been a close connection between the belfry and the cellar, and it is more than likely that these laws were made, not so much for the encouragement of the art, as for the ready means which they afforded of obtaining fines to be spent on beer. Indeed the sign of the "Ring o' Bells Inn" is pretty faithful when depicting the ringers in the loft, each supported by a great mug of foaming ale. Ringers' jugs were by no means uncommon, and some were curious examples of the potter's art.

> "If you love me doe not lend me,
> Euse me often and keep me clenly.
> Fill me full or not at all,
> If it be strong and not with small."

But to return to the Rules. For fear of losing them by decay on the damp walls they were repainted on canvas in the year 1833, but after a time the canvas also rotted and fell to pieces. To Thomas Jennings is due the credit of having made a careful copy of the lines in 1860, from which they have since been printed and framed.

Agreed

Agreed to and Painted on Belfry Wall, 1788. Painted on Canvas from the original, 1833. Copied on Paper from the canvas, 1860. Printed for the first time, 1894.

ORDERS

Agreed on by the Society of Ringers, and Subscribed to by the Church Wardens of Kendal, for the better regulation and encouragement of the Art of Ringing.

" From Easter Sunday until New Mayor's Day,
At Ten the Ringers shall appear alway;
I'th Afternoon by half-past two again,
This Rule unalter'd ever shall remain.

" From New Mayor's Day still Ten shall be the hour
For Forenoon service, as expressed before;
The Afternoon Service from thence must alter'd be
Until the Clock commence the hour of Three.

" Whoe'er till Bells are raised is absent hence,
The forfeit for the fault is just fourpence;
If he neglect till service it be o'er,
For every peal he forfeit twopence more.

" He who the whole day does himself absent,
Without of two or more he gains consent
One Shilling forfeit he must pay, as fee,
For th'use and service of Society.

" On Parish Days the Ringers shall appear
When they the tolling of the Bells do hear;
All absentees for every peal that's past,
In twopence fine most surely will be cast.

" And 'tis agreed that on such Parish Days,
The Seventh Bell's warning shall the absent raise
Within one quarter of an hour, if not,
No more's allowed, and equal fine's his lot.

" Whoe'er presumes a Bell to pull off here
Without consent, or does get drunk or swear,
Sixpence for each offence he sure shall stake,
Ere he his peace with us for it shall make;
Likewise he fourpence pays, besides all that,
Who here appears with either spurs or hat.

The

"The youth who to the Ringing Art's inclined,
Shall ever with us hearty welcome find,
If he with us the Jolly Boy reveres,
Who sometimes soothes and mitigates our cares.

"No Miser here with us can claim a part,
Nor be companion in our noble art,
Which nurtures health, of life the chiefest bliss,
With which the world compared a bauble is.

"He who to pay these forfeits is not free,
If yearly Ringer or a Deputy,
It is resolved the fine from wages due,
Shall be deducted with exactness true.

"And furthermore, if anyone beside,
Refuse by these our orders to abide,
From out the Belfry he shall be expelled,
And as an alien evermore be held."

On the 18th of June, 1816, two treble bells, each weighing about 7cwt., were added on the anniversary and "in commemoration of the glorious achievements of Lord Nelson and His Grace the Duke of Wellington, who with Divine assistance, gave peace to surrounding Nations and to this favoured Isle." The inscription on one reads:—"We'll sing their praise, and join in glorious harmony this noble peal." They arrived by canal, on the 30th of December, were hung the next day, and ushered in the New Year of 1817, at midnight. There is a story told of how Vicar Hudson rang the tolling bell. The old sexton of that day, John Jennings, had a daughter, well known for having a most retentive memory, and also for being an excellent errand goer. Whenever anything was specially wanted at the Vicarage, the word was:—"Go, and tell John's daughter." Once, when she was tolling the passing bell in the loft, the worthy vicar made his appearance to ask her to take a message, to which she replied that her father would be vexed if the bell ceased even for one minute, as he had been already paid for it. "Oh!" said

said the reverend Divine, "I will toll while you are away," and like a brave man for some twenty minutes he stood at his post counting the movements of the pendulum, and swinging at the right number the clapper:—

> "That had so oft with solemn toll,
> Spoke the departure of a soul."

The newspapers for October 4th, 1834, record that "on Sunday last, the Church bells were silent owing to the Churchwardens refusing to pay more than £12 a year for the ringing." The ringers would not strike the clapper, and so they struck themselves. After a period of six months' silence a "Liberal Churchman," through the newspapers, implored the vicar to no longer withhold from the town the sweet music of the Sabbath bells. But the appeal was of no avail. At last, on the occasion of the death of Thomas Strickland in September, 1835, the bells tolled out a muffled peal, the first time that they had been heard for eleven months.

In 1893, the peal was re-tuned and hung upon a new frame. The Kendal ringers have long been noted for their correct and scientific "change ringing," and the bell loft is hung with records of their exploits.

The registers commence in 1555, but are for the first few years incomplete, gaps of a few months occurring between entries, and from 1561 to 1570 no entries are to be found. Again a whole book is missing between the years 1631 and 1679, after which date they are complete up to the present time.

It is recorded on a stone in Penrith Church that there died of the plague in Kendal, in the year 1597-8, about 2,500 persons. The Kendal register contains entries of numerous burials in the year 1597, some of the entries being marked with a "P." At the end of the year is a note stating "six hundred three score and eight" were buried, of these 317 were men and 351 women

women. Numerous entries of burials also occur in 1598 up to August 25th, when the register stops, then a few entries appear, dated Januarie, 1599, headed "Burials since the nativitie of the plague." Then follow a page or two, torn, stained, crumpled and indistinct with entries headed "Burials 1598 since the nativitie, not Dieing of the plague," and so this book ends, a gap of six years coming between this and the next book.

The Churchwardens' books commence with their accounts for 1658, and contain many interesting entries throwing light upon the manners and customs of our forefathers.

RECTORS AND VICARS OF KIRKBY KENDAL.

RECTORS.

NICHOLAS FITZ ROBERT. (1228—.....).

He occurs as "Nicholaus filius Roberti rector ecclesie de Kirkeby Kendall" in a witness to a deed in that year.

ROGER PEPYN. (1245—1256.)

He occurs frequently as rector between these years. As rector of K. Kendal in 1246 he received a grant of land from Ranulph d'Aincourt in Natland. He was Sub-Dean of York 1254-5, and died 1266.

ALAN DE ESYNGWALD. (1266—.....)

ADAM DE NORTHFOUK. (1267—.....)

Abp. Gifford conferred the Church of Kendal upon Adam in this year according to papal provision, but the University of Cambridge entered a caveat against him. In the absence of disproof it may be taken that Adam became de facto rector. By the terms of the Abp.'s letter, Cambridge had no locus standi.

WILLIAM DE AMELDON. (1290—.....)

At this date the rectory was divided, William holding one moiety, and

Walter

WALTER DE MADESTAN (1291—1306.)

the other — Ecclesia de Kyrkeby Kindale Divisa Est, Pars Willelmi £66.13.4. Pars Walteri £66.13.6. Reference is made to him in the Patent Rolls 23 Edw. I, (1295) and described as "parson of a moiety of the Church of Kirkeby in Kendale." He was a noted pluralist, of no great reputation, consecrated Bp. of Worcester in 1313 and died abroad in 1317.

VICARS.

ROGER DE KIRKBY. (1312—.....)

It appears that Kendal was not appropriated to St. Mary's York, till after 30 Edw. I. (1303). In that case Roger was the first vicar. He was witness to an exchange of lands at Sizergh in this year.

THOMAS DE LEYNESBURY. (1352—1366.)

He occurs in 1352 as vicar, with permission to study at a University. He was a trustee of certain lands granted by Sir Thomas de Strickland, Knight, in 1366.
Doubtless there was a Vicar between Leynesbury and Greenwode, of whom we have no record.

THOMAS GREENWODE. (.....—May, 1421.)

On the 20th of June, 1396, Archbishop Scrope gave Greenwode, then only an acolyte, letters dimissory that he might be ordained. In 1409 he was instituted to the Rectory of Ousebridge, York. This he gave up in 1413, when he became Vicar of Kirkby Stephen. On the 5th of March, 1415, he was made Vicar-general by Archbishop Bowet. At the time of his death he was Canon of York and Lincoln, and Vicar of Kendal. He died on the 2nd of May, 1421, and was buried in York Minster.

RICHARD GARSDALE. (June, 1421—1439.)

He was a trustee in a settlement of the Sizergh Estate in the year 1432.

JOHN BRYAN. (July, 1439—.....)

William

WILLIAM, Abbot of St. Mary's, York. (1495—.....)

He granted a lease of part of the tithes to Sir Thomas Strickland in this year.

THOMAS MAYNES. (1520—1534.)

Letters patent granted by Edw. VI.

For a short period the patronage of the Church lapsed to the Crown, by whom two presentations were made, viz., James Pilkington, B.D., and Nicholas Asheton.

JAMES PILKINGTON, B.D. (Dec., 1550—1551.)

He was born in 1520. At the age of sixteen he was admitted a member of St. John's College, Cambridge. where he proceeded to the degree of A.B. in 1539, and was elected a Fellow in the same year. He afterwards took the degrees of A.M. in 1542 and B.D. in 1550, in which latter year he was presented by Edward VI. to this living, as the first Protestant vicar. In the reign of Queen Mary he was obliged to fly (1554) from England ; he returned in March, 1558, and was appointed a commissioner to revise the Book of Common Prayer. In July, 1559, he was admitted Master of St. John's College and Regius Professor of Divinity. At the age of 40 he was elected the first Protestant Bishop of Durham on February 20th, 1561. He died at Bishop Auckland, January 23rd, 1575, aged 55, and was buried in Durham Cathedral, " with as few popish ceremonies as may be, or vain cost."

NICHOLAS ASHETON. (Dec., 1551—.....)

Presented by Edw. VI.

AMBROSE HETHERINGTON, D.D. (1562—July, 1591)

SAMUEL HERON, D.D. (1591—.....)

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He took an "ad eundem" D.D. degree at Oxford in 1598 to qualify himself for a Crown living restricted to Oxford graduates, and died in 1615.

RALPH TIRER, B.D. (1592—June, 1627).

He was buried within the communion rails at Kendal Church, under a very thick stone, which was removed somewhat to the north at the restoration of 1850. On the stone is a brass plate containing his well-known epitaph.

Francis

FRANCIS GARDENER, B.D. (1627—1640.)

HENRY HALL, B.D. (Dec., 1640—1645.)

HENRY MASEY, M.A. (Mar., 1646—.....)

Note.—The author of Brand's History of Newcastle, writes:—"March 25, 1652, Mr. William Cole settled at St. John's, Newcastle, to preach forenoon and afternoon, with a salary of £150 per annum. He was minister of Kirkby Kendal in Westmorland."

JOHN STRICKLAND, B.D. (May, 1656—.....)

In the civil wars he took the covenant, and preached before the Long Parliament. He became assistant to the commissioners for ejecting insufficient ministers and schoolmasters in 1654. In 1662 he was ejected for refusing to conform to the Church of England. He died in 1670.

WILLIAM BROWNSWORD, M.A. (Jan., 1660—1673.)

On November 24, 1645, he was admitted a pensioner of Emanuel College, Cambridge. He was B.A. in 1645 and M.A. in 1649. In 1648 he is described as "Preacher at Dugglas," Douglas being a chapelry in the parish of Eccleston, Lancashire.

In accordance with the Church Survey Act of 1650 the commissioners return him as "cure of Douglas Chapel, a godlie painfull Minister, but he did not (being dissatisfied with the usurped powers) observe the 13th day of this instant month (June) appointed by Act of Parliament to be kept as a day of humiliation, and had notice of it by the Constable."

From Douglas he removed to Preston (1654). In 1658 he was presented by Trinity College, Cambridge, to the Vicarage of Kendal, which position he filled till 1673. He had the freedom of the borough granted to him November 6, 1662. His contiguity to the scenes of the labour of George Fox, and the early Quakers led him to write:—"The Quaker-Jesuit, or Popery in Quakerism, with a Serious Admonition to the Quakers to consider their ways and return from whence they are fallen." London 1660. Small 4to., 16 pp.

A quaker, "Robert Barrow prisoner in the comon Goale in Kendall

Kendall for not paying vnto William Brownesword preist of Kendall his Easter Reckonings," accused the Vicar in some doggerel lines for abusing him "in pullpitt, private and and abroad."—See *Kendal Mercury* for July 25th. 1863.

He also wrote "England's Grounds of Joy in His Majesty's Return to his Throne and People." London 1660. 4to., 28 pp.

Richard Tatham, M.A. (Nov., 1673—.....)

He appears not to have been instituted for on the 22nd November, 1673, there is a conclusion:—"Agreed by the Master and seniors that Mr. Loup have a presentation to the Vicaridge of Kendal." Apparently the living lapsed to the Bishop, who appointed Michael Stanford.

Michael Stanford, M.A. (1674—Mar., 1683.)

Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1659—1673. He died March 3, 1683, aged 47.

Thomas Murgatroyd, M.A. (1683—April, 1699.)

We find no record of Mr. Murgatroyd, except that of his burial under date of the 17th of April, 1699, in the Parish Register, which runs thus:—"Mr. Tho. Murgatroyd, Vichar of Kendall."

William Crosby, M.A. (June, 1699—Dec., 1733.)

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1690. A man entirely given up and married to the Church, and was truly in every respect an "Eunuch for the Kingdom of Heaven's Sake." He was "sworne" freeman of the borough January 21, 1700. He died at the age of 70 years. The foot of his grave is close to the front of the Communion Table. The Rev. Tobias Croft, his curate, preached the funeral sermon. The following is a copy of a letter sent by the Corporation to Trinity College:—

"Kendall December 10th, 1733.

Reverd. Sirs,

Wee being now come from performing our last & very sorrowfull office to our late Deceased and reverd. pastor Mr. Crosby, do in behalf of ourselves and the numerous inhabitants of this place & extensive parish, take this opportunity

tunity of expressing our Gratefull acknowledgement of the College's presentation of the last vicar, who was one of the most eminent ornaments of the Church in & out of the pulpitt that has appeared in these parts within our remembrance, & wee hope that upon consideration of our ensuing representation of the cure it will be accepted by some Distinguished person of your body, the benefice being in our opinion one hundred & thirty pound per annum & upwards, clear of all known reprises, the vicarage house & outhouses, being all very fine & in a manner new, which cost the deceased several hundred pounds, and although there are twelve or thirteen chappells of ease in the parish, yett curates thereof are no burthen to the vicar no more than is the curate resident, between which last & the vicar, the office & duty are equally divided & though the first-fruits are very high, yett every new Incumbent will find some Ease therein by a Legacy of sixty pounds from the last incumbt. so as every Incumbent give security for his Exor. to pay the principal to succeeder.

Whereby & by a legacy of his well chosen modern Library for benefitt of succrs. the late vicar will be a double benefactor to every of them & they therefore need not bring from Cambridge any of the books of which this appropriated library consisteth.

Wee may add to the above that a handsome court & a fine garden on side of a large river, join the vicaridge & that this place is situated in an healthfull air & plentifull country and accomodated with a cheap market for fish & flesh, & a good publick school, all which is earnestly submitted to your best consideration by

Reverend Srs.

yor. very Servts.

etc., etc.

P.S. A lott of pritty Tapistry & hangings in the Dining room is to continue in it.

Richard Cuthbert, M.A. (Dec., 1733—Nov., 1744.)

Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died on the 7th November, 1744, aged 48, and was buried in the eastern portion of the Churchyard.

Thomas

THOMAS SYMONDS, D.D. (Jan., 1745—Feb., 1789.)

He was born July 28th, 1709; deacon, 1732; priest, 1733; Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1736. He died February 7th, 1789, aged 79, and was buried within the Communion rails.

Note.—The *Newcastle Chronicle* for March, 21, 1789, says :— "The Rev. Richard Kirshaw is preferred to the Vicarage of Kendal in the County of Westmorland."

HENRY ROBINSON, M.A. (July, 1789—Feb., 1806.)

Born 1748. Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge. He died 25th February, 1806, aged 58. In the Churchyard is a flat stone over his grave simply containing his initials and date— "H. R., 1806."

MATTHEW MURFITT, M.A. (April, 1806—Nov., 1814.)

A.B. in 1783, and A.M. in 1786. Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He died aged 50.

JOHN HUDSON, M.A. (1815—Oct., 1843.)

A native of Beetham, he went to Heversham School. He left it for Trinity College, Cambridge, in the year 1793. On taking his degree in the year 1797, he was declared Senior Wrangler, and was elected a Fellow of the College the following year. At the age of 30 he was elected a Tutor. Thenceforward "he commenced a career, prosperous and brilliant beyond example." Amongst his scholars was Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of Chester and of London. He died aged 70. He was interred within the Church near the Parr Chapel, but the stone was removed somewhat more to the south during the restoration of 1850.

JOSEPH WATKINS BARNES, M.A. (April, 1844—May, 1858.)

He was born in 1806; died May, 1858, aged 51; and was interred in the New Cemetery.

JOHN COOPER, M.A. (Aug., 1858—Jan., 1896).

Trinity College, Cambridge. B.A. (Wrangler and 1st Class Classical Tripos) in 1835, M.A. in 1838, deacon in 1837, priest in 1838, Vicar of Kendal in 1858 hon. Canon of Carlisle in

in 1861, Archdeacon of Westmorland in 1865. Formerly Fellow of Trinity, 1837-1859; Vicar of St. Andrews the Great, Cambridge, 1843-1858; Tutor of Trinity, 1845-1855; Senior Dean, 1855-1858.

WILLIAM ROBERT TRENCH, LL.M. (April, 1896—.....)

Trinity College, Cambridge. LL.B. (2nd Class Law Tripos) in 1861, LL.M. in 1870, deacon in 1859, priest in 1871, hon. Canon of Chester in 1876

ART. XV. *The Abbey of St. Mary in Furness, Lancashire.* By W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

GENERAL HISTORY.

ABOUT the year 1112 there was founded at Savigny, in the diocese of Avranches in Normandy, an abbey in honour of the Holy Trinity.* It appears, like Cluny and Citeaux, to have been the centre of one of the reforms of the Benedictine Order then in progress, and to have sent forth colonies of monks, after the manner of the Cistercians, to establish elsewhere the new order of things.

In 1123 Geoffrey, the second abbot of Savigny, obtained, according to an inserted entry in the *Historiæ Continuatio* of Symeon of Durham,† from Stephen, count of Boulogne and Mortain, who was otherwise a benefactor to his house, the grant of a certain vill called Tulket, in Amounderness, near Preston, for the purpose of founding an affiliated monastery there. A colony of monks was accordingly sent over to take possession, under the leadership of Ewan of Avranches, who became the first abbot.

In 1127 a further grant was made to the Abbey of Savigny, this time certainly by Stephen, of all his forest of Furness, together with Walney, and all hunting rights in both, the towns of Dalton and Ulverston, etc. and all his demesne within Furness, except the lands of

* This must not be confounded with another abbey of Savigny, a much earlier Benedictine house founded in honour of St. Martin in the diocese of Lyons.

† "Anno M.cxxiij. Stephanus comes Bononicensis, postea rex Angliæ, dedit abbati Gaufrido, Savinniensi villam, scilicet Tulket, in Provincia quæ vocatur Agmundernes, super ripam fluminis Ribble, ad abbatiam construendam ordinis sui, tempore Kalixti papæ; et ibi fere per tres annos permanserunt" *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera et Collectanea*, vol. i. (Surtees Society 51), 120.

Michael

Michael Fleming. Precisely the same grant was made at the same time and in identical terms "to God and St. Mary of Furness and to the abbot of that place."

These documents clearly point to a migration to Furness from Tulket (which henceforth became a grange only), and to the erection of a monastery on the newly acquired site. As we are told that the abbey of Furness from its first foundation was built at the cost and expense of the mother house of Savigny,* the simultaneous grants by Stephen to Savigny and Furness may, perhaps, be accounted for.

The statement just quoted as to the first building of the abbey does not agree with the metrical account of the beginning of Furness, which ascribes the work to the founder:

Hanc hac valle domum Stephanus Comes ædificavit.†

In 1148, during the abbacy of Peter of York, an event occurred which had a marked influence on the future history of the abbey and its buildings. According to the Furness Coucher Book:

In the time of this abbot, the venerable Serlo, fourth abbot of Savigny, which is the mother house of Furness, in a general chapter at Citeaux rendered his house of Savigny with its daughters‡ of the Order of Tiron to the Cistercian Order into the hands of St. Bernard, then abbot of Clairvaux. Against which rendering the aforesaid abbot Peter with his convent appealed to the pope and the holy apostolic see. To which see coming in person he obtained from the lord the pope Eugenius III. a confirmation that his monastery of Furness should for ever remain of the same Order of which it had first been founded, notwithstanding the rendering aforesaid. But on his return

* *Calendar of documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland.* Edited by J. H. Round (London, 1899), i. 295.

† T. J. Beck, *Annales Furnesienses. History and Antiquities of the Abbey of Furness* (London, 1844), 284; *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, edited by J. C. Atkinson (Chetham Society, N.S. 9, 11, and 14), 21.

‡ Among these were the following English and Welsh abbeys: Basingwerk (Flint), Buildwas (Salop), Buckfast (Devon), Byland (Yorks), Calder (Cumb.), Coggleshall (Essex), Combermere (Chesh.), Fors (afterwards Jervaulx) (Yorks), Furness (Lancs), Neath (Glam.), Quarr (Isle of Wight), Rushen (Isle of Man), Stratford Langthorne (Essex), Swineshead (Lincs); and one Irish House: Dublin St. Mary.

from

from the Roman court he was seized on the way by the monks of Savigny and taken to Savigny. There he resigned his office as abbot, and became a most worthy monk in the same place, learning the Cistercian Order, and thence he was chosen fifth abbot of Quarr. To which Peter there succeeded at Furness as fifth abbot Richard of Bayeux, doctor in theology, a pious monk of Savigny, who ruled for a short time; by whose diligence and counsel the monastery of Furness itself was rendered to the mother house of Savigny and to the Cistercian Order before the same Richard was elected in the same to the abbacy.*

The further history of the abbey is abundantly illustrated, so far as the continual acquisition of property is concerned, by the documents entered in the Coucher Book and the Duchy of Lancaster records now in the Public Record Office, but these unfortunately contain hardly a single fact relating to the buildings.

On 9th April, 1537, the abbey was surrendered by Roger the abbot, Brian the prior, and twenty-eight other monks,† and two months later the clear annual value of all its lands and possessions, as well spiritual as temporal, was estimated at £1051 2s. 3¾d.‡

From a letter dated 3rd July (1537), written to Cromwell by Robert Southwell, one of the royal commissioners, and printed in full by Beck,§ it appears that the monks were still living in the abbey when Southwell

* "Tempore hujus Abbatis, Venerabilis Serlo, iiiius Abbas Savigneii, quæ est materna domus Furnesii, reddidit apud Cistercium, in Capitulo generali, domum suam Savigneii, cum filiabus suis de Ordine Tironensi ad Ordinem Cisterciensem, in manus Sancti Bernardi, tunc Abbatis Clarevallis: a qua redditione prædictus Petrus Abbas, cum Conventu suo, ad summum Pontificem et Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam appellavit. Ad quam sedem personaliter accedens impetravit a Domino Eugenio Papa iii° confirmationem ut Monasterium suum Furnesii remaneret imperpetuum de eodem ordine de quo primo fundatum erat, non obstante redditione prædicta. Sed in reditu suo a curia Romana captus est in itinere per monachos Savigniacenses et ductus ad Savigniacum. Ibi cessit officio Abbatiali, et factus est ibidem monachus probatissimus, discens Ordinem Cisterciensem, et inde fuit assumptus in Abbatem Quarreriæ quintum. Cui Petro successit in Furnesio quintus Abbas Ricardus de Baiocis, doctor in Theologia, pius monachus Savigneii, qui modico tempore gubernavit, cujus diligentia et consilio redditum fuit ipsum Monasterium Furnesii ad matrem suam, Savigneium, et ad Ordinem Cisterciensem prius quam idem Richardus creatus fuerat in eodem in Abbatem." *The Coucher Book of Furness*, 8, 9.

† Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, 350.

‡ *Ibid.* Appendix, No. VI. pp. lxi-lxx.

§ *Ibid.* 356-360.

arrived

arrived there on 23rd June; and he describes with evident satisfaction how he "gave eche of them xl.s. as the Kynges hole rewarde," and so sent them away. As touching other affairs at the time of his writing, Southwell says that "the demayns be holly survayde by the eie and be measure and not be credyte", "the catelle is alle redy solde," and "the leade is all moltene and cast in sowys wyth the Kynges marke fyxsyde therto and put in a suer house accordying to his graces commandment, there can be no better leade as sayne the plomers. I humbly thanke your lordshippe," he continues, "for teachyng me to melte the Asshys wherin we ffounde grett profett, we shulde els therin have offendyde the kyng be Ignorance and not for want of will to serve." Two other passages refer to the buildings: one, in which Southwell writes of a projected visit to High Furness "as incontinent after the Church and stepull being clere dissolvede being now in good towardnes therto"; the other, where a Mr. Holcroft is referred to as having been "very diligent here for the whiche he was put only in trust to pluck downe the church." The writer also states that he has "yet left convenyent edifices standing meat for" a farmer or caretaker to dwell in, which "may be myche easyere at any tyme pluckyde downe thene sett upp."

It is clear from these references that the lead had been stripped from the roofs and the buildings begun to be dismantled as quickly as possible, even while the poor monks, whose home they had been, were still in the abbey.

Three years later the lands and revenues of the abbey were annexed to the Duchy of Lancaster, and so remained until the reign of James I. The site of the abbey then passed to the Prestons, in whose family it remained for several generations, and finally descended through the Lowthers and Cavendishes to the present owner, Victor Cavendish, Esq., M.P.

So

So far as we can judge from a long series of engravings, of which the most important are those published in 1727* by the Society of Antiquaries and by the Brothers Buck, the standing portions of the ruins have existed in their present condition for a long time, and there has been no recent loss of any note. The plan published by West in 1774 also points in the same direction.† The lower parts of all the buildings remained more or less buried in rubbish until about 60 years ago, when the church and other parts were cleared out under the direction of Mr. Beck. But the sites of the cloister and the monastic buildings generally were not dealt with until 1881-2, when they were brought to their present state under the superintendence of Mr. W. B. Kendall. The walls were freed from the destructive growth of ivy and other parasitical vegetation by direction of the late Lord Frederick Cavendish, just before his lamented death in 1882. As these excavations had not been extended to every part of the abbey, and several important questions still awaited solution, a further exploration of the site was arranged by the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, on the suggestion of the late Chancellor Ferguson, with the kind permission of Mr. Victor Cavendish, M.P.

These latest excavations were begun in September, 1896, under the direction of the writer, and continued in the same months of 1897 and of 1898. The most important work was the removal of a large accumulation of soil from the site of the abbot's house and other buildings on the east, and from a large octagonal kitchen once attached thereto, as well as the elucidation of a puzzling series of foundations to the south of the cloister; a number of minor discoveries were also made, as may be

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* *Vetusta Monumenta*, i. Pl. XXVII.

† Thomas West, *The Antiquities of Furness* (London, 1774). West's view seems to have been boldly copied from that in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

seen

seen by comparing the accompanying plan with all or any of those that have preceded it.

The opportunities thus afforded for a minute study of the buildings have led to a careful revision of their architectural history, which has resulted in a further discovery during the last few months of the foundations of the eastern portions of the first church, and of other remains of the oldest buildings.

Architectural History.

The settlement at Furness in 1127 was followed by the laying out of the new monastery, and the commencement of the buildings, pending the completion of which the brethren were housed in temporary structures.

The setting out of the existing cloister certainly belongs to the first work, and of this there yet remain part of the east side, all the north wall, and the foundations of the west side, but the fourth or south side, which completed the square, has been removed, and can now only be traced underground.

Of the church which was begun there are standing (1) the four piers of the crossing, and (2) the lower parts of the west walls of its transepts and (3) of the south wall of the nave. The last-named was included in the first works in order that the cloister might be built against it, otherwise there is no evidence that any further progress was made with the nave itself.

It will be seen from the plan that in the north transept the old work, which is coloured black throughout, ceases at a particular point in the west wall. In the south transept, the old work within the church does not extend so far, but it appears again along the south wall, and outside it remains as far as the angle. It here contains (1) the loop of a destroyed stair, and (2)

a doorway which apparently once opened into the transept, though this would have been a very unlikely arrangement. Had, however, the first transepts been a bay shorter than those existing, this doorway would have presented no difficulty, and acting on a suggestion to that effect made by Mr. H. Brakspear, a search was recently made in both transepts * for the foundations of the original end walls. In each case the result was successful, and in the north side the return wall begins exactly where the old work above ground ends. In the south transept the coincidence was not so striking, but this has since been explained by the discovery of the base of a stair turret in the angle, which fully accounts for the older wall being here of less extent ; the blocked window of this turret shows towards the cloister. The doorway in the cloister thus falls into its proper place as the entrance into a passage or slype, such as was often placed next the transept, and of this passage the old work now remaining in the south wall of the transept formed the south side.

Since the first discovery of the ends of the old transept, the investigations have been continued eastward with the object of recovering the plan of the transept chapels and the original presbytery. The south transept wall was first followed as far as the arcade, where it was found to be returned southwards to form the east end of the passage. Further search revealed the re-entering angles at the corner of the first transept and the wall of the transept chapel. This wall in turn was followed, when the interesting discovery was made that the chapel was apsidal instead of square. On laying it down on plan it became obvious that the chapel between it and the presbytery must have been of larger size, and this was

* The investigations have been entirely carried out, under the writer's direction, by Mr. Jesse Turner, the guide to the Abbey, whose intelligent interest in the ruins is equalled by his knowledge of their various archæological features.

immediately

immediately confirmed by digging. Corresponding investigations on the north side have brought to light two similar apses there. The lesser apses were 9½ feet wide and divided by walls 5 feet in thickness from the larger apses, which were over 12 feet wide.* Their lengths seem to have been 12 feet and 21 feet respectively. The original presbytery appears to have been completely destroyed by later works. The plan of the first church, so far as it has now been recovered, is strikingly like that of another daughter of Savigny, the abbey of Vaux de Cernay in France,† founded in 1128, and not improbably copied from Savigny itself. Vaux de Cernay has the same arrangement of transepts and chapels, but its presbytery had a square end, and this may have been the case at Furness. As Savigny is said (see *ante*) to have built Furness there is every likelihood that Furness and Vaux de Cernay have a common origin, and were begun much about the same time. Their plan, moreover, is not one of which we have any purely Cistercian example, but it is not unknown in Benedictine churches of Norman date. We are entitled, therefore, to assume that the first church at Furness was planned and begun to be laid out before the union of Savigny and its dependent abbeys with Clairvaux and the Cistercians in 1147.

How far the first buildings at Furness had been carried up by 1147 it is difficult to say. Only the presbytery of the church can have been built, but the cloister had been laid out, together with the frater and kitchen on its south side, and probably the eastern range, since the shell of the reredorter in connexion with it still remains. The western range had only been begun.

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* These dimensions are those of the foundations exposed.

† See the plan in L. Morize and A. de Dion, *Etude archéologique sur l'Abbaye de Notre-Dame des Vaux de Cernay* (Tours, 1889), Pl. II.; and M. Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisonné de l'architecture française du xie au xvie siècle* (Paris, 1854), i. 274.

Shortly

Shortly after the abbey became Cistercian, the buildings seem to have been completed, and in part altered on the lines already adopted by that Order. First the nave of the church and its south aisle were built, probably for the first time. Next the south transept was continued, but its length was extended to three bays (thus absorbing the old slype), and an eastern aisle added in place of the apsidal chapels. A rebuilding of the presbytery followed, together with the completion of the north transept, which was enlarged like its fellow. Lastly the north aisle was built and vaulted, and the south aisle was similarly covered in. The crossing and upper works of the transepts were probably carried up simultaneously.

As regards the monastic buildings, the western range may have been completed, so far as its walls, floors, and roofs were concerned, before the nave was built. A new and enlarged frater would seem to have succeeded the earlier, and in a somewhat interesting way. The first frater stood east and west, Benedictine fashion; but the new one was built Cistercian-wise, north and south, with its north end abutting against the middle of the length of the old frater. The old frater was afterwards pulled down, and its area thrown into the cloister, which thus assumed its present oblong plan. The great gate also belonged to the works of this second period.

A pause in the general reconstruction seems to have followed, during which the vaulting of the *cellarium* or western range and other works of completion were carried out. The frater was also again rebuilt on a larger scale.

The third great work undertaken was the lengthening of the eastern range and the rebuilding of the chapter-house and of the sub-vault extending southwards from it, together with the monks' dorter above. The unusual length of this (fourteen bays) is without parallel in this country, Ford with its undercroft of thirteen bays being the nearest recorded example; but both were exceeded by Vaux

Vaux de Cernay, which had four or five bays more than its Lancastrian sister. The ten southern bays seem to have been built first, together with the upper floor. The reconstruction of the chapter-house followed, with the remainder of the sub-vault, and then the upper or dorter story was continued northwards up to the transept. There is no evidence as to the size of the first chapter-house at Furness, but it probably occupied only half the area of the successor, which was built upon a large scale. An increase by this time of the number of monks is perhaps indicated by a lengthening of the reredorter at one or both ends; the rest of it, as already stated, is of the first date.

Following immediately upon the works just described came (1) another enlargement and rebuilding of the frater, (2) the building of the monks' infirmary, and (3) of an infirmary of the lay brothers. Of the first and third of these works only a few fragments remain, but of the monks' infirmary we have part of the main block, and the foundations of a large octagonal kitchen, which seems to have been one of its appendages. These three works are all of the second quarter of the thirteenth century.

A considerable pause next ensued, if we may judge by the remaining buildings or their traces; but it is possible that the energies of the monks were being employed on their granges and elsewhere.

By the end of the thirteenth century the old infirmary of the monks had apparently become too small; a new one was accordingly built to the south of the main buildings, consisting of a great hall, with a chapel and other offices at one end. Much about the same date is the pretty little chapel *extra portas*.

Soon after the completion of the new infirmary the building hitherto used as such seems to have been converted into a lodging for the abbot. Its upper story was then

then enlarged in a very interesting manner, and other additions made to its plan.

Among other works of the fourteenth century were the west gatehouse and a large building in the outer court, of which only a fragment of an end is now left. An important feature was also added to the church in the form of an upper story to the central tower.

Early in the fifteenth century the presbytery was rebuilt and enlarged, together with the transept aisles on each side of it; the attached vestry was also built out at the expense of one of the aisle chapels. Of the same date was a building of some pretensions, probably a guesten hall, in the outer court, the existing porch between the latter and monks' cemetery, and a house or lodging, perhaps for the visiting abbot, just east of the south end of the monks' dorter.

Later on in the century a threatened collapse of the central tower necessitated the strengthening of one of its piers by buttressing and the underbuilding of the adjoining arches, and the reconstruction of the upper stages of both transepts.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century the frater was taken down and replaced apparently by a two-storied hall of much smaller dimensions, the upper story of which served as a new frater, while the lower became the misericord, where flesh meat was eaten on fixed days. Certain sub-divisions of the south end of the *cellarium* are perhaps not unconnected with this. Further works of the same period are (1) a chamber at the south-west corner of the infirmary hall, and (2) a large apartment westward of the *cellarium*, a rebuilding of an older structure.

Quite at the end of the fifteenth century or the beginning of the sixteenth, a new tower was commenced at the west end of the nave, much in the same way and for the same reasons as was done at Fountains, but whether it was ever finished is doubtful. Such

Such are the main lines of the growth and architectural history of Furness Abbey, so far as they can be made out from the remains of the buildings themselves.

We will now proceed to consider its site and to describe in fuller detail the various structures of which the monastery is composed.

The Site and Precinct.

The abbey is stated to have been founded on its removal from Tulket to Furness *in loco vallis qui tunc Bekanguyll vocabatur*,* which the metrical story thus fancifully expands and explains :

> Hæc vallis tenuit olim sibi nomen ab herba
> *Bekan* qua viruit dulcis nunc tunc acerba
> Inde Domus nomen *Benkanesgill* claruit ante.†

Whatever be the real meaning of Bekan or Benkan, it is certain that the abbey lies secluded in the bottom of a deep and narrow gill, along the eastern side of which runs a beck. The gill at first extends north and south, but just below the buildings it opens out with a semi-circular sweep before curving round to the east and following the course of the stream. The stream itself was utilized by the monks to form their mill dam,‡ and after running through and flushing various buildings built athwart it, to supply the fish ponds. The steep and rocky sides of the gill served as a ready quarry from which to build the abbey, and in order that they should not furnish foothold for ravaging Scots and freebooters they were included in a large oval area, of which the long axis runs from north-east to south-west, surrounded by a

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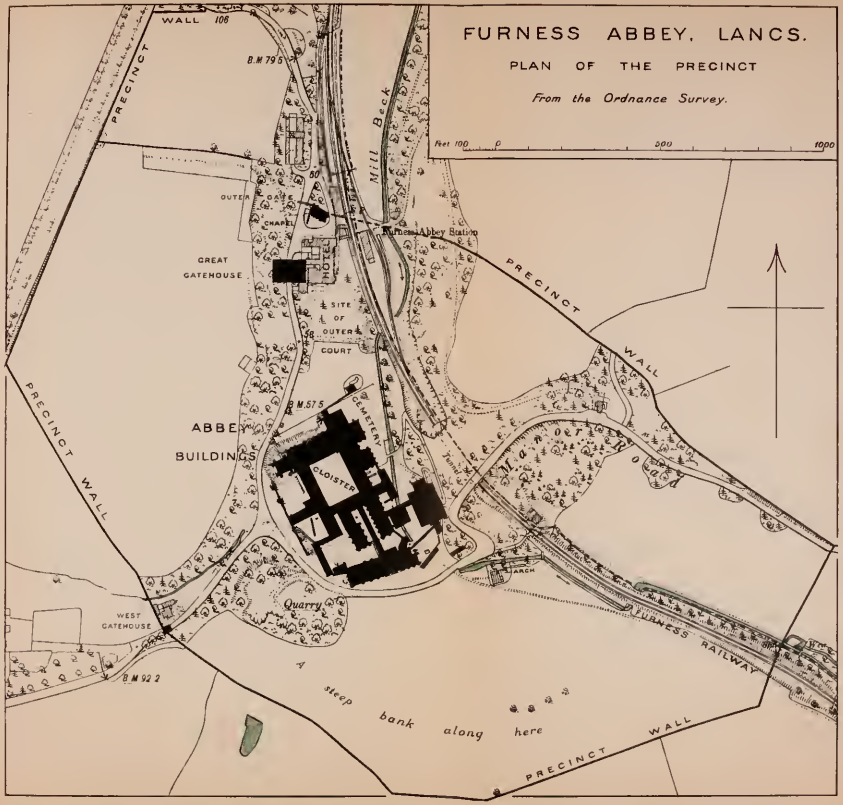
* *Furness Abbey Coucher Book* (Chetham Soc. N.S. 9), 8.

† *Ibid.* 22.

‡ This has been destroyed and the course of the stream considerably altered by the formation of the Furness Railway line.

massive


FURNESS ABBEY, LANCS.
PLAN OF THE PRECINCT
From the Ordnance Survey.
Feet 100 0 500 1000
WALL 108
B.M 79.5
PRECINCT
Mill Beck
OUTER GATE
CHAPEL
HOTEL
Furness Abbey Station
GREAT GATEHOUSE
SITE OF OUTER COURT
PRECINCT WALL
B.M 57.5
CEMETERY
ABBEY BUILDINGS
CLOISTER
Quarry
WEST GATEHOUSE
B.M 92.2
FURNESS RAILWAY
A steep bank along here
PRECINCT WALL

massive stone wall. In the centre of this area, lie the main buildings of the abbey. (See plan of precinct.)

The chief approach was from Dalton on the north. Since the construction of the Furness Railway, which has in other respects greatly altered the ancient aspect of the valley, the old road down to the abbey has been abandoned for a new one that runs beside it, but it is still visible though now overgrown with grass. It wound gently down from the higher ground to the bottom of the gill and then made straight for the outer gate. On its right or west side was the abbey wall, which extended from the outer gate northwards, and after climbing the bank beside the road and following the curve of the latter, made a sharp turn southwards. It continues southward for 1150 feet, then turned south-eastwards for about 900 feet, descending suddenly towards the end into a small valley; here the western gate was placed. From the gate the wall again rises up to the higher ground, and after skirting the semi-circular sweep of the gill above the site of the fish ponds, crossed the valley through which the brook runs. It then again turned sharply in a north-westerly direction, still hugging the higher ground and finally descended into the gill and ended at the chapel *extra portas*. The area enclosed contained about 70 acres.

The principal entrance into the precinct is on the north, through a wide pointed archway, which looks at first sight a work of the fourteenth century, but closer examination shows it to be a make-up of old materials, the inner label being composed of thirteenth century vaulting ribs. A smaller archway to the south is of the same date as the larger. The latter stands, however, upon the chamfered plinths of an older structure of different plan which are clearly in place, and they probably belong to an original outer gate of the twelfth century. The story of the modern erection is thus explained by Beck:

Both the larger and the smaller arches of this gateway were removed from an ancient building close to the rock on the west side of it, and re-erected on old foundations of an entrance peculiar perhaps to the Abbot and his brethren.*

Beck also states that:

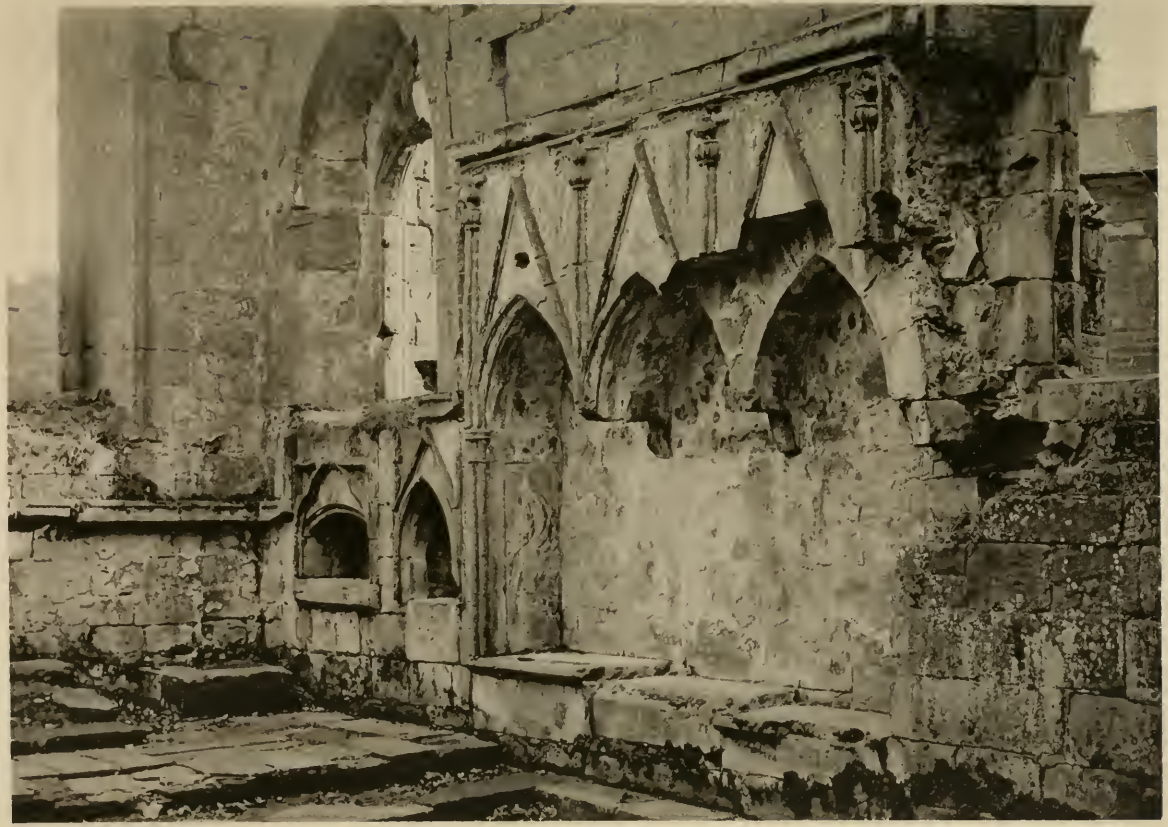
On the west of the Manor-house under the rock within the last half century stood the remains of a large ornamental building, whence the arches of the present north entrance were removed; a shippon now occupies its site.†

Immediately within and adjoining the gate on the east are the remains of a very interesting chapel. It is entered by a round-headed west door, over which is a trefoil-headed niche, and beside its south jamb is the broken bowl of an inserted holywater stock. The chapel is 49 feet long and 28 feet wide, and of four bays, but is now ruined and roofless. Its north wall is a section of the twelfth century precinct wall, which seems to have been refaced on the chapel side, and has no openings in it; but the remainder of the building belongs to the latter part of the thirteenth century. The floor was flagged, and along the north, west, and south walls was a stone bench. At the east end is a platform two steps high, on which against the east wall is the base of the altar; this is 7 feet 11 inches long and 4 feet 6½ inches wide. In the north-east corner of the chapel is the base for a tomb, part of which remains. It is 7 feet 2½ inches long, 4½ feet wide, and 7 inches high, and of earlier date than the existing altar platform. It was enclosed at first by a grate, and afterwards by a screen. Sundry pin and other holes in the north wall may have had something to do with this.

In the south-east corner is a block of masonry, measuring 28 by 25½ inches, built against the east wall; its original height and its use are alike uncertain, but it

* *Annales Furnesienses*, 368.
† *Ibid.* 402.

may



SEDILIA, ETC. IN THE CHAPEL WITHOUT THE GATES.

may have supported an image. The east window, which is not central, but set somewhat to the south, was of four lights, but only the sill and jambs now remain. Immediately to the south of the altar in the first bay are (1) a wide credence with panelled head, and (2) a piscina with octofoil drain and canopied head. Over these is a window of two trefoiled lights with a cusped circle above. Just to the west of the piscina is a floor drain with circular bowl.* Between the first and second bays are three graduated sedilia, beneath pointed arches, with pinnacled canopies above, once carried by detached shafts. The lower of the two altar steps is returned in front of the sedilia as a platform to them. Just to the west of the sedilia there seems to have been a low screen across the chapel. The second and third bays each contain a window similar to that in the first bay, and between them is a beam hole. The fourth bay contains the remains of a round headed opening, perhaps a "low-side window," which has been cut down to make a doorway. Drilled at intervals into the stringcourse which runs under the windows, are a series of holes. They begin at the enclosing screen of the tomb and after crossing the east wall extend along the south wall as far as the sedilia. They probably contained wooden plugs for hooks to suspend hangings from or to fix joiner's work to.

Externally the chapel has on the north side an inserted buttress at each end, and another on the line of the screen. The east end has two buttresses, the northern

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*Durandus notes the following custom, which seems to explain the use of these floor drains: "Sane sacerdos vel minister missurus vinum et aquam in calicem prius effundit modicum in terram non solum ut meatus sive locus vasis per quem fluere debet mundetur et si quid est in superficie vini vel aquæ emittatus: verum etiam ad ostendendum quod sanguis et aqua de latere Christi usque in terram fluxerunt: ad quod mysterium se præparat peragendum." *Prochiron vulgo Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, lib. iv. cap. xxx. § 20 (Ed. Lyons, 1551, f. 866). I am indebted to Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P.S.A. for this reference.

of

of which continued as a wall. The south side has three buttresses, but the first is widened out below as a broad and deep projection, like that for a fireplace, behind the sedilia. There is no buttress at the west end, but instead a wall ran thence southwards as far as the inner or great gatehouse of the abbey. Against the west side of this was a stone bench, and along it ran a pentise which was also carried across the front of the chapel.

A *capella extra portas,* like this at Furness, was a usual feature in most, if not all, Cistercian abbeys for the convenience of women and other persons who were not allowed within the gates. At Coggleshall it has lately been repaired and again used for the services of the church; it also remains complete at Kirkstead. The ruins of similar chapels exist at Rievaulx and Fountains, and there are documentary references to those at Meaux and Byland. An interesting thirteenth century example at Croxden was destroyed so recently as 1884.

The Gatehouses.

The inner or great gatehouse was a building of late twelfth century date. It stood about 170 feet to the south of the outer gate, but is now ruined to its plinths. It measured about 80 feet from north to south, but the length is uncertain owing to the eastern end having been destroyed to make room for the Furness Abbey Hotel. The entrance arch was of four orders, and there was a similar arch at the other end of the passage towards the court. This passage consisted of (1) an outer porch, $38\frac{1}{4}$ feet long and $23\frac{3}{4}$ feet wide, vaulted in two bays; and (2) the gate hall, which was 26 feet long, and also vaulted. Between them was the gateway proper, which consisted of (1) a wide arch with double doors for the passage of vehicles, and (2) a small doorway to the east for foot passengers. The east wall of the porch has bedded in it two quasi-piers,

piers, which carried arches closed with thin stone partitions; all standing on a bench. Right and left of the porch and entered from it by doors in its south end were two great chambers. The hall was similarly flanked by chambers entered from it, and that on the west had a large fireplace in the west wall. There is nothing to show that these chambers were vaulted. By the north-east corner of the hall is a stone seat in the wall for the porter, and the room behind was perhaps the *cella portarii* or porter's lodge. There was probably an upper story.

The remains of the western gatehouse show that it was a small tower of the fourteenth century, the front of which stood slightly in advance of the precinct wall wherein it was set. The ground story consists of a passage which had a segmental archway of two orders at each end, and was covered with a wooden ceiling instead of a vault. The outer archway was closed by doors. At the north-west angle is a vice to the upper floor; it had an external door, since a doorway from the passage would have been covered by the open gates. Of the upper floor only the south wall remains; it has a doorway in it from the bank which here overhangs the road.

The Outer Court.

Although there must have been a road joining as now the western and the great gatehouses, there could not have been any buildings west of it owing to the steep bank along that side. The outer court must, therefore, have occupied the level area between the great gatehouse and the abbey church.

Whether any buildings adjoined the eastern end of the gatehouse it is now impossible to say. Whatever may have stood on the site was destroyed when the Manor House of the Prestons was built here at the beginning of the

the seventeenth century, and the enlargement and conversion of this into the Furness Abbey Hotel has further obliterated any old work that may have been spared.*

The foundations of various buildings are known to exist beneath the modern garden in front of the hotel, but their date is, of course, uncertain. In the south-east corner of the garden, beside the path leading to the abbey ruins, may be seen in the shrubbery a short length of wall with one side of an elaborate doorway of the early part of the fifteenth century.

This doorway opened into some important building, probably a guest-house, which stood north and south on the east side of the court; but no more of the building can be traced than what is shown on the general plan. To the west of this is a fragment of foundation of uncertain date, which may or may not have formed part of the same building. Further to the south is one end of another structure of late fourteenth century date. It, too, stood nearly north and south, and was 18 feet wide; but everything beyond the existing piece has been destroyed. This has two doorways at its south end: the one opens into a vice which projects southwards from the building, the other is an entrance from without.† Adjoining this building are the remains of a late fifteenth century porch, which formed an entrance into the monks' cemetery from the outer court. On the court side it has a moulded arch of three orders, but the doorway from the cemetery, which had double doors, is a plain one. On each side is

* For a view of the Manor House before the hotel alterations, see *Vetusta Monumenta*, I. Pl. XXVII.

† In the view published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1727 (*Vetusta Monumenta*, I. Pl. XXVII.), the building of which this fragment formed part is shown complete, and covered with tiles. The lower story had a doorway in the middle of the eastern side with two windows on either hand, and the upper story was lighted by about ten smaller openings. A view published by Hearne & Byrne, in *Antiquities of Great Britain* (London, 1786), and dated 1778, shows this building as viewed from the west. On that side it had several buttresses, and was lighted on the ground story by narrow loops and above by small openings. The building was not improbably a stable or garner.

a stone bench, and in the wall a small loop opening from without. Above the porch was an upper story with a fireplace in the east wall, but only the corbels that supported the chimney remain; it is shown standing in the plate published by the Society of Antiquaries in 1727.*

The cemetery gate was set in a wall that ran for some uncertain distance eastwards, but westwards to a porch which covered the north doorway of the transept of the abbey church. This porch has been destroyed only within the last few years, and Beck, who shows it in his plan and his north view, mentions the "portions of the side walls, with stone seats along them," which remained when he wrote.†

The Abbey Church.

In all Cistercian churches there is a door from the outside into that transept which is remote from the cloister. It is not usually of any architectural pretensions, and was probably the way by which the dead were carried out for burial from the church to the cemetery, which lay round the east end of the church. At Furness, however, the doorway into the north transept is of exceptional richness,‡ and there can be little doubt that it was regarded as the principal entrance into the church. Like many other doorways in the abbey it is round-headed, and of four orders carried by jamb shafts; the outermost order is a rich example of the billet moulding. Since the plinth is cut away for its insertion, it would seem that the doorway first designed for this position was of the usual simple character, but replaced by a finer one as the

* This upper story was still complete and occupied when West published his *Antiquities of Furness* in 1774. See plate following the ground plan.

† Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, 383.

‡ A beautiful engraving of it (restored) forms the frontispiece to Beck's *Annales Furnesienses*.

work

work was carried up. To the east of the doorway is a blocked contemporary window, and above them a wide fifteenth century window of seven lights, which has lost all its tracery.

On entering the north transept there may be seen just to the east of the doorway the place of an holy-water stock. In the north-west corner is a doorway into a vice or staircase to the roofs, etc. All this north wall is of the second date. Parts of the old flagged floor of the transept also exist here and there. On the east are three pointed arches of three orders, carried by clustered columns, opening into an eastern aisle. Against each of the pillars, as may be seen from the cuts in the bases, stood, in later times, a pedestal for an image, and over the southernmost was a tall canopy for which the arch-molds have been cut away. Each arch was closed by a stone screen. Above the arches was a triforium consisting of three round-headed openings, each enclosing two trefoiled arches with a blind roundel sunk in the head, and carried by shafts with volute capitals and square *abaci*. All three openings were walled up later,* but two have since been unblocked, and from one of these the sub-division has fallen out. The first clerestory windows, which seem to have been plain and round-headed, have been blocked up, and replaced by two fifteenth century windows, each of three lights, set towards the north. The transept was not vaulted, but covered with a wooden roof resting on corbels, some of which remain.

The transept aisle had originally a round-headed archway at its south end opening into the presbytery, but this was built up when the east side and north end of the aisle were rebuilt, on the older plinths, with the presbytery early in the fifteenth century. The outer walls are now reduced to only a few feet in height, but the jamb of a

* They are shown blocked in the last century prints already referred to.

window

EAST SIDE OF THE NORTH TRANSEPT.

WESTERN SIDE OF THE TRANSEPTS, LOOKING EAST.

window is left on the north and of another against the presbytery. The aisle was divided by perpent walls into three chapels, each of which retains an altar platform two steps high, and paved, in the northernmost chapel with tiles, in the other two with square stone blocks 10½ inches square and 6 inches thick, set diamondwise. Below the steps the floor was all of tile. The base of each altar remains, with a chamfered plinth and bevilled angle shafts. The northernmost chapel has a floor drain to the south of the altar. The southernmost altar had no end plinths, and south of it is a wall drain supported by a pretty inserted clustered pillar of the thirteenth century. Within the blocked arch to the presbytery, before its walling up, stood a simple tomb covered by a plain slab; over this the blocking has been carefully carried. The earlier aisle had a ribbed vault, but it was not replaced in the rebuilding, and the newer aisle was open to its wooden roof. This was of high enough pitch to include the triforium, which was not then blocked, but during the later alterations when the openings were walled up the roof was lowered and carried across them. The successive changes are plainly shown by the roof lines against the presbytery and the corbels in the transept wall. Before the alterations in the transept gable there was a wall passage across it from the vice to the space over the aisle vault.

The west side of the transept, in the lowest stage, is for two-thirds of its length (see plan) of the first date, and retains a piece of the string-course and part of a window jamb. The jambs of the arch into the nave aisle are also of the first date, but its bases, which are inserted, and the capitals with the arch itself are of the second date. The second stage has two wide round-headed windows, but in the fifteenth century these were each divided by the insertion of tracery into two lights. The clerestory originally had three windows like

like those below, with a wall passage running through them from the staircase on the north to another vice ascending from above the crossing pier on the south.* But in the fifteenth century the southernmost window was built up and the others replaced by new windows, each of three lights.

The only feature in the transept is a square block with five winding steps, with hole for a wooden newel, built against the crossing pier in the south-west angle. The steps seem to have led eastward to a loft or gallery over a stone screen that filled the north arch of the crossing, eastward of the quire stalls. A like arrangement existed at Fountains, and in the Black Canons' Priory of St. Mary Overie, Southwark.

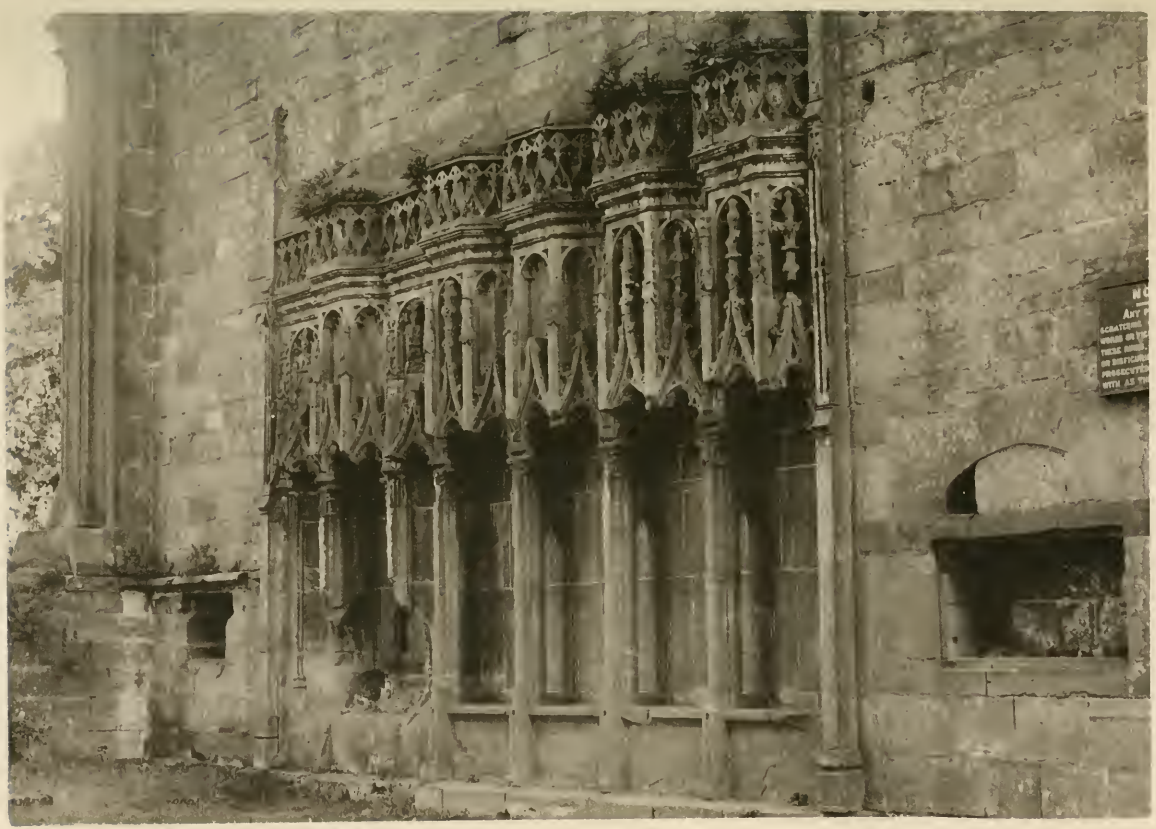
The crossing piers are of the first date for a considerable height, but have capitals and carried pointed arches of three orders of the second date. Only the eastern arch is now standing. The jambs of the eastern and western arches are corbelled off about 12 feet up,† but in the others the shafts start from the floor.

The presbytery was rebuilt in its present form early in the fifteenth century, and is 54 feet long and 27½ feet broad, and of three bays. Next the crossing on each side may be seen the walled-up archways from the transept aisles that originally formed the upper entrances. On the north this blocking is built over a plain tomb like that on the aisle side; but on the south it contains a rich doorway of three orders of the same date as the presbytery. The first and second bays on the north each contain a tall window, once of four lights with an embattled transom, but the tracery has fallen out. Of the east

* There was another vice ascending from the parapet level over the north-east pier of the crossing.

† In the jambs of the eastern arch are a number of pin holes of various heights, of uncertain meaning. They perhaps had to do with the hanging of the Lenten veil before the extension of the presbytery.

window



SEDILIA, ETC. IN THE PRESBYTERY.

window, which was a wide one of probably eight lights, only the jambs remain, with the ends of the hoodmold of the arch. These terminate in the heads of a bearded man and a veiled lady, both crowned, perhaps representing King Henry IV. and his second queen, Joan of Navarre.* The angle buttresses flanking the window are worthy of notice, and behind them may be seen the places for fastening down-pipes to carry off the rain-water from the roofs. The high altar, which stood clear of the east wall, against a screen crossing the presbytery about 6 feet from it,† was 12½ feet long and 2 feet 8 inches wide; only its base remains. Behind the screen in the south wall is a square locker, with groove for a shelf, and marks of the hinges of a folding-up door. West of the screen the lower part of the wall is filled for a length of 20 feet with the magnificent piscina and sedilia, of which a good engraving, with certain missing parts restored, is given by Beck.‡ The piscina has three niches at the back and sides respectively for the crewets, etc. but the bason which was perhaps of marble, has been torn out. It was flanked by two tall recesses, with sloped bases; each having in the back a hole for an iron hook or rod to hang a towel from. The sedilia are four in number, and all on one level. Above them are two windows, but owing to the vestry roof on the other side of the wall they are high up, and being much shorter than those opposite were of three lights only and without transoms. Just to the west of the sedilia, on the level of the carved cornice, are three pin holes for the pulley of the *velum quadragesimale* or Lenten veil, which hung across the presbytery on this line. Next to the sedilia is a length of wall of the second date containing a broad locker, with a relieving arch over

* The heads are engraved in Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, 403.

† The cut for this screen may be seen in the string course on the south. Immediately above it, at a height of 12 feet from the floor, there is a pin hole in the wall.

‡ *Annales Furnesienses*, Plate between pp. 378, 379.

its

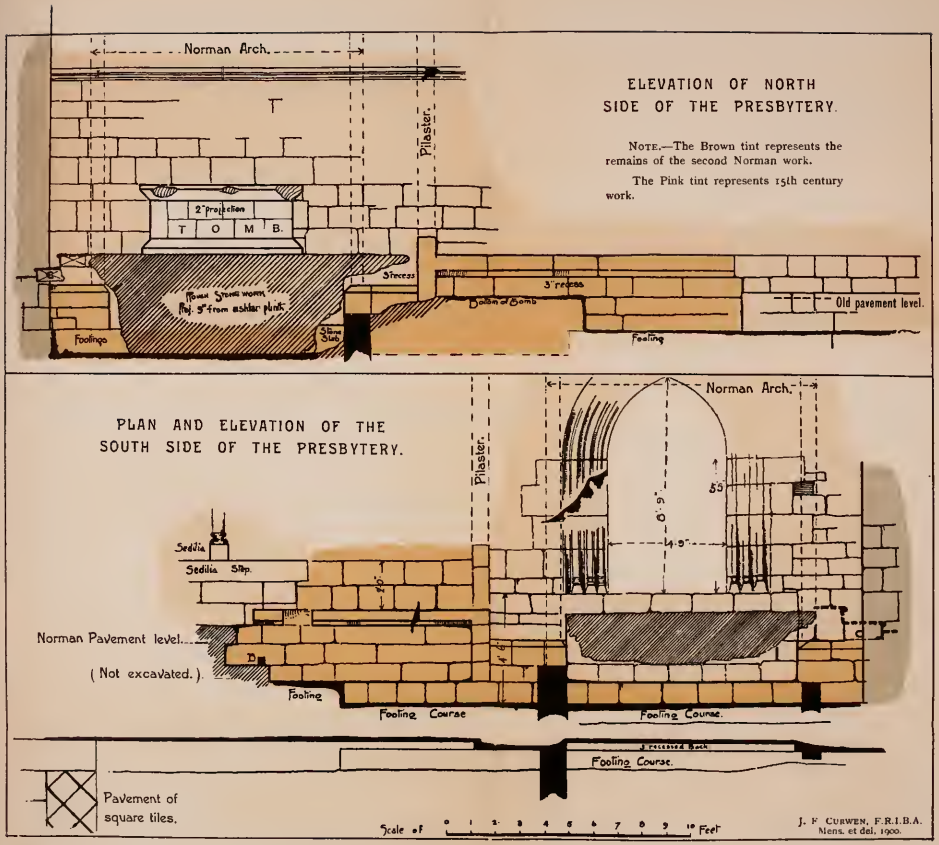
its flat top. The locker, which is grooved for a shelf, and has marks of a hinged door, formed the *ministerium*, or "place where the chalice was made ready and whence the bread and wine were carried to be *offered* at the high altar."* There are two steps at the entrance to the presbytery, but it is doubtful if they are original, and there is also a chase for another in the step below the sedilia and immediately to the east of them; and there were probably at least two other steps west of it.

Before leaving the presbytery it is desirable to put on record certain facts that have come to light with respect to its immediate predecessor.

The investigations already described, which revealed the extent of the first work in the transepts, etc. were continued in the presbytery, by exposing the lower parts of the walls down to the footings. As will be seen from the accompanying drawings, for which the Society is indebted to Mr. J. F. Curwen, nothing remains of the first presbytery east of the crossing piers. Of the second work, the upper entrances exist, but they were completely walled up and refaced in the fifteenth century. Beyond these eastwards there remains a length of wall also of the second date, on the north below the later floor line, but on the south high enough to show the *ministerium* described above. This walling ends abruptly at a particular point, beyond which only the footings remain. These footings differed markedly from those elsewhere, in that the stones project obliquely from the wall, and are cut off in a manner strongly suggestive of their having formed part of a semicircular apse, which has otherwise been completely destroyed. The substitution of an apsidal presbytery and rectangular chapels for apsidal chapels and a square east end seems unlikely, but such a combination is not

*See a note by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite on an example at Kirkstall in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, x. 554-6. The *ministerium* seems to have restricted to the ascetic Orders such as the Cistercians, the Carthusians, and the White Canons.

unknown



FURNESS ABBEY.—REMAINS OF SECOND PRESBYTERY.

MONUMENTAL SLABS NOW IN THE PRESBYTERY.

unknown in Cistercian abbeys abroad, as at Toronet and Obasine in France and St. Martin's near Viterbo in Italy. It also existed with an encircling aisle and chapels to the presbytery at Clairvaux, and at Croxden, Beaulieu and Hayles in England.

In the centre of the presbytery lies a much broken effigy of a knight in mail, and to the north and west are arranged a large number of grave slabs found during the excavations and placed here for safety. Most of them have been described and figured by Beck.

The vestry, which adjoins to the south and extends almost as far east as the presbytery, was built at the same time, and opened from it by a double door. It had a large east window, probably of four lights, and two south windows, each of three lights. The altar and its platform have been entirely destroyed, but south of its site are the remains of a handsome canopied drain. Next to this there stood against the wall a canopied tomb enclosed by a grate, but only the plinth is left. Just west of the tomb an iron bar or partition of some kind seems to have crossed the vestry. Between the door from the presbytery and the arch into the transept are two pair of large pin holes run in with lead. Not improbably a lavatory and bason stood here for the use of the ministers. The vestry roof was of wood and of four bays.*

By the building out of the vestry one of the three chapels east of the south transept was done away with. The others were rebuilt at the same time on the older plinth.† They were divided like their fellows on the north by a perpent wall, but all traces of the altars and their platforms have here been obliterated. Each had an eastern window of three lights. The southern chapel has

* Beneath the eastern part of the vestry is an extensive deposit of human bones, perhaps those that were disturbed in the building of the new presbytery and vestry on part of the monks' cemetery.

† There is a curious irregularity on this side, which results in the east wall of the aisle not being parallel with the transept, and a large base has been built out for the central buttress.

a mutilated drain in the south wall, and in the north wall of the other is a small locker with pin holes east of it.* The wooden roof that replaced the older vault was almost flat at first, but its slope was afterwards slightly raised. A quantity of carved twelfth century stones are built in over the line of the old vault.

The east side of the south transept has three arches like those opposite, once filled with stone screens, but there was not any triforium as in the north transept. The clerestory was rebuilt in the fifteenth century. The roof was a wooden one of five bays. The two pillars of the arcade have each a little fourteenth century niche cut on the front member, with a pin hole below for a sconce, and once contained images, but the northern image after the building of the vestry gave way to one of much larger size, standing on a pedestal beneath a tall spire-like tabernacle, for which the hoodmold above has been cut away. In the south wall of the transept are two corbels, perhaps to support a gallery for the clock. The windows in the gable, which were high up on account of the dorter on the other side, were two in number and round headed, but were replaced in the fifteenth century, probably after a lowering of the dorter roof, by a single window of five lights. Lower down, and towards the west wall, is a good inserted doorway, two-centred, with moulded rear-arch, and of the thirteenth century. Its sill is 8 feet from the transept floor, and up to and through it led a broad flight of steps built against the west wall. There is a pretty corbel where the steps joined the door. By these steps the monks reached the church directly from their dorter when they arose about two a.m. to say their *vigiliæ* or night offices. The steps themselves have disappeared. At their foot are the remains of an inserted holy-water stock in the

* Both chapels are now filled with large moulded stones brought from various parts of the ruins.

wall

wall. As on the other side, the lower part of the west wall is of the first date, but here it is so for the full length, though partly refaced, and the south wall for some height up is of the same date. As will be seen from the plan the refacing on the west marks the place of (1) a large turret that projected into the transept like that in the north transept,* (2) the junction of the original transept end, and (3) the blocking up of a doorway from the cloister into an original passage between the transept and the chapter house. When the transept was lengthened in the rebuilding the place of this passage was absorbed by the new work, which accounts for the chapter house here being immediately next the transept.† The upper stages of this side are like those of the north transept, but the lower windows are higher up to clear the cloister roof, and the clerestory was entirely rebuilt in the fifteenth century with windows differently spaced. The cause of this greater amount of rebuilding is interesting.

One of the rules of the Cistercian Order enacts:

> Turres lapideas ad campanas non fiant, nec ligneæ altitudinis immoderatæ, quæ ordinis dedeceant simplicitatem.‡

and if we may judge from the surviving Kirkstall and Buildwas examples, central towers, if built at all were only carried up one stage clear of the roofs. But the desire for higher towers in time asserted itself, and certainly at Kirkstall and no doubt Furness and Fountains, an upper story was added later. The result was probably satisfactory at first, but before long the piers began to give way beneath a weight not provided for by their builders. The Kirkstall tower stood the strain longer than the others and remained intact until 1779, but the

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* A loop that lighted the vice may still be seen on the cloister side.

† A similar proceeding has brought about a like state of things at the Cluniac Priory of Wenlock, Salop.

‡ Cistercian Statutes, *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xi. 240.

Fountains

Fountains and Furness examples gradually sank bodily into the ground some inches, tearing asunder their connections on all sides and distorting the neighbouring windows and arches. At Furness, where the tower was the first to show weakness, the two arches adjoining the south-west pier were forthwith built up, in the one case solid, in the other by reducing it to a mere doorway,* and a massive buttress, ornamented with panelling and pinnacles, erected against the pier so as to enclose it.† The upper works of the south transept were then rebuilt and on the north the triforium and clerestory were walled up, and newer windows put in further away from the tower.

That the addition of the upper story to the crossing preceded the rebuilding of the presbytery and the transept aisles is shown by the fact that the piers carrying the south transept arches are out of the perpendicular, but the vestry wall which is built against one of them, purposely for strength, is vertical.

There is nothing to show whether the central tower was eventually taken down on account of its instability, or remained standing until the end, pending the building of the new one at the west end of the church.

With the exception of a portion of the blocked arch on the south side next the crossing, the nave has been so completely destroyed, that the bases of some of the piers alone remain to tell its story. It was ten bays long, and divided from its aisles by pointed arches carried by piers alternately round and clustered. The eastern responds belong to the first work, and have moulded bases of Norman character, standing on a chamfered plinth; these are, however, 13 inches below the later floor level, and not

* Together with an opening eastwards over the aisle vault. The distortion of this and of the roof line over it is very marked.

† At Fountains, where the tower was raised about a century after that at Furness, the south-east pier gave way, and was similarly strengthened. See *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, xv. 287.

now

ARCH AND RESPOND AT EAST END OF NORTH AISLE.

now visible. On the north side the bases of all the piers remain, but on the south the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth are missing. The ninth pair of piers are standing to a greater height than the rest through the new tower being built up against them. The last bay and the western responds have been destroyed to make way for the new steeple, which thus partly stands within the church.

The piers, as at first begun, had built into them towards the nave, but without bond, a longitudinal wall, 11 inches thick, running from pillar to pillar, against which the base mouldings abruptly stopped. Before, however, the work had made much headway this arrangement was given up; the first three piers on each side were left unaltered, but the rest were completed in ashlar and the base mouldings continued round them. In the case of the fourth, fifth, and sixth north piers the work had been carried up some height before they were altered; but in the next three only the bases had been laid, and after these had been completed the pier was carried up entire. The three last bases on the south side were carried up whole from the ground.

The north aisle, like the nave, is ruined to its plinths, which remains to a few feet in height throughout its length.* It is entered from the transept by a pointed arch of three orders with square capitals with broad-leaved volutes. Adjoining it is a jamb of the original first window, but refaced with fourteenth century work. Above it is a fragment of the vault, which had transverse and diagonal ribs springing from the triple wall shafts between the bays. The first bay retains its flagged floor, but does not seem to have had an altar or any screen between it and the transept.† On the south side is a low stone wall decorated

* There is a break between the sixth and seventh bays, probably for the entry of carts to take away stone.

† In this bay, according to Beck (p. 376), were found, lying loose on the floor, the fine effigies of a knight and a lady that are now preserved in the infirmary chapel.

with

with ten traceried panels of beautiful design of the fourteenth century.* This formed the base of a chapel or closet that stood within the arch, and was entered from the aisle by a flight of three steps. The chapel was closed on the aisle side by a wooden screen and towards the nave by the quire stalls. From a blocked niche in the face of the respond, it seems as if an altar that once stood against it had subsequently been replaced by another in the later chapel.

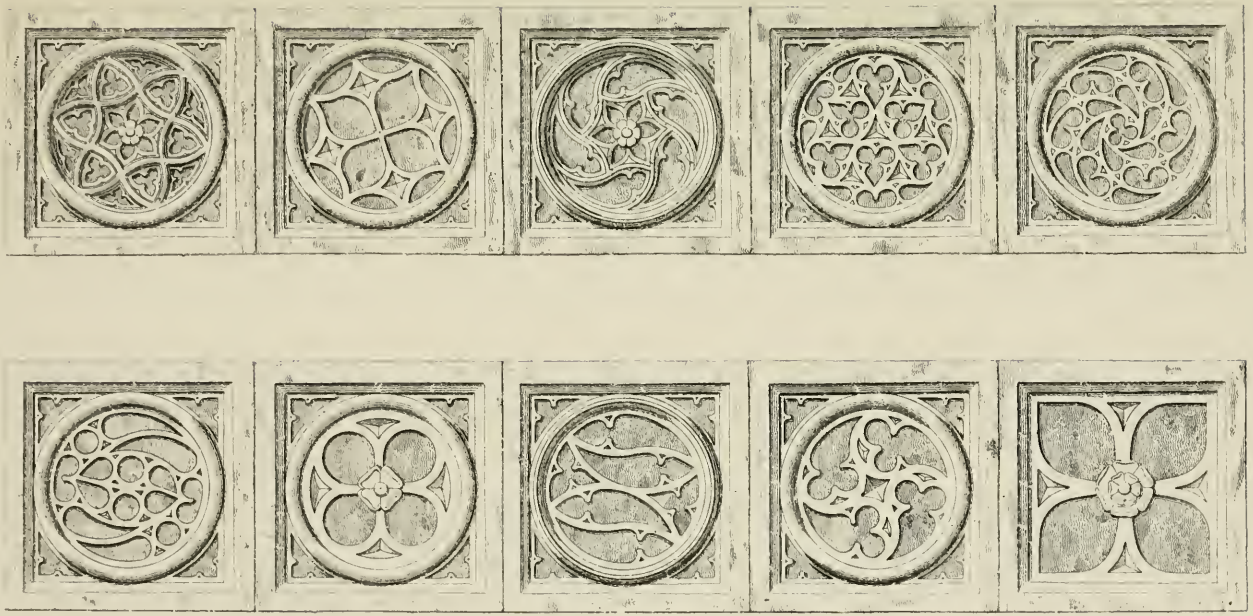
In the third bay, immediately west of the vaulting shaft, is a notch in the wall, probably for a screen crossing the aisle, although there is no corresponding hole in the pier opposite.

The fourth bay was closed on the east and south by stone screens to form a chapel. The platform of the altar, raised two steps high, occupies most of the bay, and has a floor drain on its south-west corner. The chapel was closed towards the west by a wooden screen which was also carried right across the nave and south aisle just west of the fourth pair of pillars.

The north aisle is now closed on the west by a wall which was built across it between the ninth and tenth bays when the last bay was destroyed to make way for the western steeple. Against this, and in the angle formed by it and the north wall of the aisle, is a broad flight of steps. The object of these is at first sight not apparent, but further examination shows that they led up to a doorway in the new wall. This doorway, since there was no entrance from without into the new steeple, formed the only means of access to the church from the west, and must have been approached by a causeway or bridge of some kind extending across the north side of the tower from the bank beyond. On this account the lower part of the destroyed bay of the aisle has been left for a support,

* See the engraving in Beck, plate facing p. 386.

and



TRACERIED PANELS IN THE NORTH AISLE.

and the tower plinths are built higher up than otherwise necessary.

The western tower, which seems to have been begun by partly underbuilding for support the last arch on each side of the nave, was evidently intended, from the thickness of its walls, which far exceeds that of the great tower of Fountains Abbey,* to have been carried up to a considerable height. It opened into the nave by a lofty arch of three orders with stilted bases, and had in its west side a four-light window. This had a transom, and large square flowers and heads set as ornaments in the hollow moulding of the outer jamb. In the south-west corner is a vice to the upper floors and roof. The buttresses are of bold projection, and each has below the first set-off a tall niche with pillared pedestal for an image. The projection of the plinth, which is also carried round the buttresses, is very effective.* The tower is now reduced to 58 feet in height. It is uncertain if it was ever finished.

The westernmost or tenth bay of the south aisle is cut off from the rest by a wall as on the other side, but is itself destroyed to the lowest course. In the wall is a window which has lost its tracery. The south wall of the ninth bay is of the first date in its lower part, and contains a deep recess formed out of a staircase that once existed in the thickness of the wall, as at Jervaulx, descending westwards from the upper story of the western range. During the alterations of the second period it was converted into a cupboard or storeplace.

The eighth bay has traces of a wide doorway of the first period, which was blocked in the succeeding works.‡ Above it is a round-headed doorway of the second date,

* The walls of the Fountains tower are 7 feet thick; in the Furness tower the side walls are over 9 feet, and the west wall more than 11 feet thick.

† A good view of the western side of the tower is given by Beck in the plate opposite p. 374.

‡ As this does not show on the other side of the wall it would appear to have opened into the space below the wall staircase.

that

that once opened on to a flight of steps leading down from the dorter of the *conversi* or lay brethren. The steps, which have long been removed, took the place of the older wall stair, and like them descended westwards along the aisle wall; they perhaps had a landing midway in front of the recess mentioned above. On account of these steps prettily carved corbels are substituted for the eighth and ninth vaulting shafts.

The rest of the aisle wall, as far as the transept, has been refaced with masonry of the second period, to which the vaulting shafts also belong.

The seventh bay once had a doorway from the cloister. This, however, was not original, but an insertion, probably of the fifteenth century, for the entry of the Sunday procession, after an older door in the tenth bay had been done away with by the works of the new steeple.

The fourth bay contained a chapel, of the same date and arrangement as that in the corresponding bay opposite.

The first bay contains a doorway, of the second period, which was the ordinary entrance into the church from the cloister. It has on the aisle side a moulded rear-arch and label, and over it is an original window, a wide and plain lancet. The vault, which was pointed, had chamfered transverse and wall ribs, but the diagonals were moulded. The vaulting shafts consist of a single semi-circular member only, instead of three as on the north side.

The arch from the transept into the south aisle is like that opposite, but has been walled up and reduced to a doorway for the support of the central tower. Over it is a blocked round-headed opening at the triforium level, which has been strangely distorted by the settlement caused by the tower before it was filled up with masonry.

The screens noted above as closing the aisles in the fourth bay had another in line with them crossing the nave between the third pair of piers. This screen was of early

early thirteenth century work, and had a central doorway flanked by two niches or panels, and with an altar on either side, each enclosed by a chapel.* There were thus four altars in a row across the church. A bay eastward of the screen was another, but of plainer character, and the space between them was floored over at some height up to form a gallery or loft. The screens and gallery together formed the structure called the *pulpitum*, where the Epistle and Gospel were sung on festivals. The loft screens also appear to have crossed the north aisle, like that at Fountains, probably (as there) to hold a pair of organs.† The space beneath the *pulpitum* served as an entry or lobby to the monks' quire, which was placed east of it.

The original idea was apparently that the quire should occupy the crossing and the first bay of the nave, and on this account the shafts carrying the eastern and western arches are corbelled off at some height from the floor. The arches east of the crossing would then serve as the *ostia presbyterii*, or upper entrances (*superiores introitus*) as they were called, by which the monks usually came into quire.‡ But this arrangement must soon have been

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* Part of the base of the screen, showing the doorway and part of the stonework north of it may still be seen. The remainder towards the south also exists, but under the ground, into which it has been driven bodily many inches through the fall upon it of some heavy mass from above.

† At Buildwas the *pulpitum* seems to have filled the second bay of the nave, and across the second arch on the south are holes for beams which probably carried the organs. In this case the *pulpitum* stood on a platform two steps high extending across the nave and aisles, with, apparently, low screens in the aisles on the line of the west wall of the *pulpitum*. There was also a low screen crossing both nave and aisles on the line of the third pair of pillars. There seem to have been similar lofts for the organs at Revesby and Roche. At Tintern there are two carved corbels over the *pulpitum* (which was in line with the first pair of piers) just above the stringcourse of the clerestory on the south side, which had something to do with the organs; here and at Buildwas, as well as at Fountains, the organs were on the side of the nave remote from the cloister. At Exeter, the so-called "minstrels' gallery" in the north clerestory of the nave probably held a pair of organs, and there is a similar gallery on the south side of the nave at Wells. The projection from the south triforium of the nave of Malmesbury Abbey was also doubtless used for the same purpose.

‡ The door at the west end of the quire was called the lower entrance (*inferior introitus*), and used chiefly only for the entrance of processions.

abandoned

abandoned or altered, and when the permanent *pulpitum* was built in the thirteenth century the monks' quire occupied the second and first bays of the nave and extended only about half-way into the crossing, with room for the upper entrances just east of the stalls. The old archways beyond were then put to other uses, and that on the north filled with a double tomb. At a still later date, probably when the number of the monks had become much reduced, the quire was refitted with new stalls extending only as far east as the western arch of the crossing. Parts of the stone bases for them remain, and show that there was only one row of stalls on each side, returned as usual against the *pulpitum*. The arrangements must have exactly resembled that in the priory church at Cartmel, and the two sets of stalls would seem to have been about contemporary. After the withdrawal of the stalls from the crossing, its north and south arches were closed by stone screens, with doors for the upper entrances. Over the north screen was a loft,* perhaps to contain another pair of organs, like "the Cryers" at Durham.

The transepts, which communicated with the quire by the upper entrances, were used simply as lobbies.

With regard to the arrangements of the nave and the use to which it was put, we have seen that the first and second bays formed the monks' quire, the third was occupied by the *pulpitum*, and the fourth by the enclosed altars on either side the quire door. There thus remain six bays unaccounted for.

Although the documentary evidence is but slight, there is clear proof that the western part of the nave formed the quire of the *conversi* or lay brothers. This is well shown by an inventory of Meaux Abbey made in 1396, which includes among the *ornamenta ecclesiæ*, in addition to the

* See *ante*, p. 242.

monks'

monks' stalls, *aliis stallis superioribus ex utraque parte et bassioribus ex utraque parte conversorum in occidentali parte ecclesiæ.** These stalls were of course arranged down the sides of the nave, and it is on this account that the aisles in a Cistercian church are cut off by stone walls built flush with the fronts of the piers. Such walls, as we have seen, were begun at Furness, but although the original arrangement was abandoned, probably from its unduly weakening the piers, there can be little doubt that it was carried out in a less risky manner by simply building a wall between the piers.† The removal of such a wall in later times would not necessarily leave any traces of its former existence.

The stalls of the *conversi* probably occupied the seventh, eighth and ninth bays, leaving the last or tenth bay open, as was usual, for the entry from the western range. The fifth bay would in that case form the *retro-chorus* where the old and infirm monks could sit to hear the services, and its position agrees well with the direction in the customs as to how they were to go up to the *gradus presbiterii* for holy water: "Qui vero extra chorum vel *in retro chorum* fuerint . . . . veniant per superiorem introitum chori, et per medium chorum revertantur;" ‡ that is, they were to go round through the transept to the

* *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series 43), iii. lxxxii. The numbers are unfortunately not given, as in the case of the monks' stalls, blank spaces being left for them in the MS. The monks' stalls at Meaux were put in during the abbacy of Michael de Brun, 1235-49, and those of the *conversi* in the time of Abbot William of Driffield, 1249-69. The high altar was not hallowed until 1253. The *Chronica de Melsa* contains other references to the *chorus conversorum*. Thus among Abbot Hugh's works, 1339-49, is a most interesting account of a new crucifix of great beauty *in choro conversorum*, which had been carved from a nude model. Miracles were performed by it, and even women were allowed to visit it (iii. 35). On Abbot Hugh's death he was buried *in medio chori conversorum coram crucifixo quem fecit exaltari* (iii. 37).

† These screen-walls are to be traced not only in the naves, as at Fountains, Kirkstall, Jervaulx, Buildwas, etc. but where the presbyteries have been rebuilt with aisles in later times, as at Tintern, Rievaulx and Fountains, they are found between the presbytery arcades also. At Tintern these walls were provided for throughout from the first, being bonded into the piers and surmounted by a gabled coping.

‡ Julian Paris, *Nomasticon Cisterciense* (new edition by Hugh Séjalon, Solesmes, 1892), 133.

upper

upper entrance, but to return direct to the retro-quire *per medium chorum.** The retro-quire would be cut off from the sixth bay by the rood-screen, here probably of stone, as there are no cuts for a wooden one in the walls or piers, and on the west side of this would be the nave altar, with the great Rood, etc. above it. Right and left of the altar were doorways through the screen for the Sunday and other processions, and the altar itself was no doubt enclosed by a screen.†

In later times, when the *conversi* had given place to hired servants, as they seem to have done everywhere in England soon after the Great Pestilence of 1349, their quire in the nave was probably cleared away, as at Fountains, Jervaulx, Kirkstall, etc. together with the walls shutting off the aisles, and henceforth the nave would be used only for processions.‡ There are no traces here of later chapels or altars in the aisles or against the pillars, such as exist at Fountains and elsewhere.

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* At Clairvaux in 1517 it is recorded: "Au bout dudict chœur, pour tirer en la nef et chœur des convers, y a séparacion entre iceulx deux chœurs, en laquelle séparacion y a trente-qualtre chayses pour seoir à oyr le service les vielz et debilles religieulx; au bout de laquelle séparacion y a ung grant autel de la Trinité, dessus lequel est le crucifix de l'église." Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii. 227. At Durham, where there was a rood screen with the Jesus altar against it, as well as the *pulpitum* at the west end of the choir, "on the backsyde of the said Rood before the Queir dore there was a LOFT, ... and in under the said loft by the wall, there was a long forme, which dyd reche from the one Roode dore to the other, where men dyd sytt to rest themselves on and say there praiers and here devyne service." *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 15), 29. This agrees exactly with the arrangement at Clairvaux.

† The fence screen to the Rood-altar at Furness and Fountains was probably of the same character as the one that enclosed the Jesus (or nave) altar at Durham: "at either ende of the Alter was closed up with fyne wainscott, like unto a porch, adjoyninge to eyther roode dore, verie finely vernished with fyne read vernishe . . . . And in the north end of the Alter, in the wainscott, there was a dore to come in to the said porch and a locke on yt, to be lockt both daie and nighte . . . . . Also the fore parte of the said porch, from the utmoste corner of the porch to the other, ther was a dore with two brode leves to open from syde to syde, all of fyne joined and through-carved worke. The height of yt was sumthinge above a mans brest; and in the highte of the said dore yt was all stricken full of iron piks, that no man shold clymme over, which dore did hing all in gymmers, and clasps in the insyde to claspe theme." *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 15), 28.

‡ At Fountains the place of the lay brothers' stalls is occupied by a long row of isolated stones on each side of the nave to mark the places of the monks at the "station" before the Rood in the Sunday Procession. The stones are now covered by the turf for preservation. See *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* xv. 307, and the plan accompanying it.

From

From the church we may now pass to a consideration of the monastic buildings.

The Cloister.

The *claustrum* or cloister was the enclosed space which formed the centre of the monastery. It was surrounded by covered alleys in which the monks lived, and spent such time as was not occupied in the church or in sleeping, labour, meals, etc. Round the cloister, since it was their living place, all the buildings connected with the daily life of the monks were placed, and were accessible from it.

The cloister at Furness is on the south side of the nave. As at first planned it formed a square of 103 feet, but when the old frater was pulled down after the abbey became Cistercian, its site was added to the cloister, which thus became an oblong measuring 135½ feet from north to south.

The first alleys were no doubt of wood, but early in the thirteenth century the enclosure towards the garth was re-built in stone. Part of the north-east angle, with a triple base remains, but as may be seen from the plan its position is somewhat unusual and the actual arrangement by no means clear. Along the sides were open arcades, supported at regular intervals on twin shafts with marble capitals and bases. A number of fragments of these exist about the ruins. There is nothing to show whether, as is probable, this open cloister was replaced in later times by a glazed one for better protection from the weather.

The north alley, which was 12 feet 9 inches wide, was practically the monks' living room, and had a stone bench, the base of which, 16½ inches wide, is left against the church wall, on which the brethren sat.* Higher up are

* On this bench, for a distance of 27 feet 3 inches from the north-west angle, something has been built up in masonry against the wall to a height of 16 inches, but in the absence now of any remains of it, it is difficult to say what it could have been.

the

the rafter holes and other traces of the cloister roofs, but these can be better seen against the transept. The original cloister door, at the east end of the alley, was replaced by a larger and finer during the works of the second period. This is round headed, with an outer order with hood-mold, and an inner of lesser height. There was no western cloister door until one was inserted, probably in the fifteenth century, but as its stonework has been torn out and the opening walled up, nothing further can be said about it.*

The other three alleys served as passages, out of which opened the several buildings round the cloister. These buildings are enumerated in their proper order in the directions in the *Consuetudines* for the Sunday procession, as follows: *capitulum* or chapter-house, *auditorium* or parlour, *dormitorium* or dorter, *dormitorii necessaria* or rere-dorter, *calefactorium* or warming house, *refectorium* or frater, *coquina* or kitchen, *cellarium* or cellarer's building. These will be considered in their turns.

The northern part of the east alley, for a distance of 32 feet, is overlapped by the south transept. This consists of three stages. The lowest is entirely of the first date, and quite plain, with the exception of a round-headed doorway to the south, now blocked on the inner side. As already noted, this once gave access to a passage or slype from the cloister to the cemetery. Between this doorway and the nave wall is a narrow slit that gave light to a former wall stair. (See above).† South of the doorway is the springing of another round-headed arch, no doubt part of one of the windows that flanked the first

* A western cloister door may have been provided for the first church, but when the abbey became Cistercian it would not be needed, since the Sunday procession which usually returned through it among the Benedictines and other Orders, among the Cistercians went through the *cellarium* and into the church by a door beyond.

† Three feet from the north-east angle is a wide cut in the plinth and there is a corresponding but narrower cut though the old stringcourse above, but it is not easy to see why these were made.

chapter-house

ENTRANCES TO THE CHAPTER-HOUSE AND BOOK-CLOSETS, WITH DORTER WINDOWS ABOVE.

chapter-house entrance. The first stage extends as high as a contemporary string course, against which the earliest cloister roof abutted, as the joist holes show. The middle stage is of the second date, and contains two windows with inserted tracery. Their sills once began lower down, upon a string course of the second period which marks the height of the second cloister roof. This roof may be traced across and beyond the chapter-house entrance as far as the limit of the first cloister, and on the north along the church wall. On the building of the new dorter the string course below its windows, which is higher up than that last described, was extended westwards and northwards for the abutment of a third cloister roof, on account of which the transept windows were partly blocked and reduced to their present height. The third stage, as mentioned above, was entirely re-built in the fifteenth century.

From the transept southwards the whole of the existing work is of later date and distinctly advanced character. The ground story is pierced with five large and elaborate round-headed doorways with good mouldings, and labels with a delicate dog-tooth ornament. Three of these next the transept form a group. They are alike, and of five orders, once carried by detached shafts, now lost, of marble, of which material are also the uppermost members of the capitals. The innermost order, which is also lost, was carried by triple shafts, and certainly in the two side arches was sub-divided, with a clustered shaft rising from a quatrefoil base.* The central arch opened, through a vestibule, into the chapter-house. The others open into large square recesses or chambers, with ashlar walls, and rubble barrel vaults springing from chamfered imposts on each side. In the northern chamber the vault is kept low and segmental, on account of the passage above it of

* The plinth of this base is left in the northern arch.

the

the dorter stair to the church, and the string course has been cut away on the south. The southern chamber has a high pointed vault. Neither chamber has had doors, but the northern has holes in the inner jamb suggestive of a grate of some kind, of uncertain date.

The chambers just described probably contained the library, in wooden presses arranged round the walls. In the earlier Cistercian abbeys, when books were few, one small recess or chamber sufficed, as at Kirkstall, but in later times, an increase in the number of books called for more room, and so long as they continued to be kept in the cloister, accommodation had to be found for them; hence these large chambers at Furness. The series of arches in the church wall at Beaulieu and Hayles may have been used for a like purpose.*

The Chapter-House.

The vestibule of the chapter-house was probably entered by a double portal, but the innermost order of the entrance has gone, as well as any remains of a central shaft. The vestibule is $13\frac{1}{4}$ feet square, and has a pretty vault with diagonal, longitudinal, and wall ribs, with central boss like a cross flory. The side walls have an arcade of richly-moulded trefoiled arches, once carried by detached shafts with capitals and bases all of marble, standing on bench tables of the same material.† Two similar arches

* In many Cistercian abbeys, *e.g.* Beaulieu, Jervaulx, Netley, Kirkstall, Tintern, Croxden, and Roche, there was a room between the chapter-house and transept which formed the vestry. Its west end was cut off by a wall and formed into a closet entered from the cloister, as at Kirkstall, Beaulieu, Hayles, and Tintern, and sometimes raised above its level, as at Roche. The closet formed the library, and at Meaux we know not only what books it contained, but how they were arranged; there were four psalters *in communi almario claustri, in suprema theca supra ostium;* nearly forty volumes stood *in suprema theca apposita;* and about 280 other volumes were placed *in eodem armariolo in aliis thecis distinctis per alphabetum.* See the list in *Chronica de Melsa* (Rolls Series, 43), iii. pp. lxxxv.—c. At Fountains the two corner bays at the west end of the chapter-house were screened or walled off in later times to afford room for the library, thus reproducing the same arrangement at Furness. At Calder, one bay was thus cut off from the first, and for the same reason

† The marble work has suffered greatly from wanton injury. It is of a local blue kind, very hard, and without fossils.

flank

WEST END OF THE CHAPTER-HOUSE.

THE CHAPTER-HOUSE, LOOKING EAST.

flank the entrance from the cloister. The chapter-house is entered by a lofty pointed archway of three orders, formerly with marble jamb shafts rising from a moulded plinth. The arch was not sub-divided. Its hood-mold has towards the chapter-house a carved floral finial.

The *capitulum* or chapter-house was so called because a portion of the rule of St. Benedict was read in it daily after terce. It was reckoned in importance amongst the buildings second only to the church. That at Furness is four bays long, and divided by clustered pillars into three alleys. The lower part of the side walls is of plain ashlar, and had against it the bench and seats whereon the monks sat in chapter. The upper part of the wall in each bay is filled by a tall pointed arch, formed by the wall-rib, within which are two smaller pointed arches carried by jamb shafts, and in the spandrel above is a circle containing geometrical cusping. In the three end bays, together with one on the north and two on the south, the sub-arches are pierced with lancet windows, the mouldings of which considerably add to the rich and dignified effect of the design. Between the bays on the north, south, and west sides are the vaulting shafts. These are charming groups of three complete and two half shafts with foliated capitals, rising from moulded corbels placed just above the string course below the wall arcades. Between the east windows the shafts die off into conical brackets directly under the capitals. The vault had transverse, diagonal, longitudinal and wall ribs, all moulded, and with small bosses at the intersections. The large stones forming the springers above the pillars, and the capitals of the latter have lewis holes on top. The drums of the pillars have each a central perforation, as if for a vertical tie rod. The floor has disappeared. Beneath it a broad and strong sleeper wall runs from pillar to pillar and thence to the side walls, so that very little room was left for the burial of the abbots, who were usually interred in the chapter-house. Until

Until late in the last century the chapter-house remained perfect, but the encouragement given to the growth of vegetation above it, where there was a garden, led to the inevitable result, and the fall of the vault also brought down part of the south wall. The remaining shell is now strongly tied together with iron bars to arrest further settlement.

From the chapter-house there extends southwards for 202½ feet the ruin of the dorter sub-vault. It is 30 feet in width, and was vaulted throughout with quadripartite vaulting with wall ribs, springing from corbels along the side walls and supported by a row of octagonal columns down the middle.

The sub-vault is entered from the cloister by the two doorways south of the chapter-house and library entrances. They are of similar design to those, but of smaller span. Each is of four orders, once carried by detached jamb shafts with square capitals, and had outer shafts to carry the hood-mold, which is returned as a small pointed wall-arch between them and the southern arch of the chapter-house series. The arches are plainly moulded, but the outer order of the northernmost doorway is ornamented with a series of billets. This doorway is also distinctly earlier in date than the other, although both have the same bases and hoodmolds, and is contemporary with the north doorway of the church, which it closely resembles. It must therefore have been prepared for or removed from some other place, since there is nothing to shew that it was set up before the doorways right and left of it.

The Parlour.

Although these doorways now open into a roofless sub-vault which apparently formed, as it was at first built, one long chamber, it will soon be seen that each formed the entrance to a separate room. The northernmost opens into the first bay of the sub-vault, which was cut off from the

VAULTING CORBEL IN THE DORTER SUB-VAULT.

the rest by a thin wall, the base of which remains, and thus formed a chamber two bays long. This perhaps served as the *auditorium juxta capitulum* or parlour, where such talking as was necessary might be carried on instead of in the cloister, where it was strictly forbidden. The vault had moulded ribs, springing from moulded and foliated corbels. Those against the north wall are intact, but the next pair south have a deep vertical groove cut roughly in them for the insertion of the division wall. This wall, as may be seen from the plan, was purposely thinned off as it approached the walls and central pillar to avoid covering up as little as possible of the corbels and capital on its line. In the east end of the parlour was a window, but the stonework of it has been torn out.

The Dorter Subvault.

The bay next the parlour, into which the southernmost of the above-mentioned doorways opened, had also moulded ribs to the vault, which likewise sprang from carved corbels. The springers to the south of the entrance exhibit the peculiarity that the diagonal ribs towards the north are moulded, whilst the transverse rib and the diagonals going south are plain semi-octagons. This second bay therefore appears to have been walled off like the parlour, and as it has another doorway in the east wall it no doubt formed a passage from the cloister to the cemetery, or to some destroyed building or buildings beyond. According to Beck's plan, the eastern doorway, which is a plain pointed one, opened into a covered passage or gallery, with buttresses at regular intervals, like that at Fountains connecting the infirmary with the church and cloister. The remains indicated by Beck have now disappeared, as have all traces of any building to which the gallery may have led.*

* An indulgence from Thomas, Bishop of Whithern (*Candida Casa*), dated 1314, mentions the burial place of Elias of Egremont, formerly cellarer, "in Cimiterio juxta magnam ecclesiam dicte Abbathie scilicet in oriente sicud itur ad domum Sacriste de claustro." (Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, 250.) Perhaps the gallery led to the sacrist's "house" or checker in question.

The

The third and fourth bays of the undercroft have each a tall pointed recess in the west wall,* and a pointed window opposite. The vaulting corbels are not foliated, but quite plain, to match the chamfered ribs that sprang from them. This is very marked on the east side, but the western corbels have delicate mouldings. Immediately beyond the fourth bay there is a break of joint in the masonry in the west wall, beyond which there were no more wall recesses, and the eastern wall suddenly thickens out at the same point opposite from 4 feet 1 inch to 5 feet 7 inches. These alterations evidently mark a difference of date between the work to the south, which is the earlier, and that to the north, which is obviously later.

The thickened portion of the east wall is the for most part ruined to the window sills and stripped internally of a good deal of the ashlar facing. The west wall has been similarly stripped, but is otherwise perfect. Its fifth, sixth, and seventh bays are blank, owing to the dorter stair on the other side of the wall, but the next five bays contain each a window † with pointed head of two orders.

The east wall had similar windows in bays 6-10, and 12. Its fifth bay has in it a plain round-headed doorway, and there was another doorway in the eleventh bay.

The two southernmost bays of the subvault differ from the rest in that they were pierced with tall pointed archways instead of windows, as is the end wall. Five of these archways are about ten feet wide and the sixth eight feet wide, but the actual opening was two feet less in every case at the ground level owing to a battering plinth on each side. A similar arrangement existed at Jervaulx and originally at Fountains, but the object of it is obscure. As the dorter subvault was at first probably a mere store-

* The parlour and passage (west) doorways are set in similar recesses. See plan.

† The window in the twelfth bay has in one side a recess for a urinal opening into a drain below.

place

place, it has been supposed that these openings were for the admission of carts, but this would not necessitate so many entrances. Whatever was the object of them it soon passed away, for at Fountains they were not reproduced in the rebuilding after the fire of 1145, and at Furness they were walled up almost immediately after they were built, and in one of those on the east side a large fireplace was inserted.

The remaining bases of the central row of pillars, which are octagonal in plan, are all of late thirteenth century work. It would therefore appear that the vault was not completed until then, since it is hardly likely that it was reconstructed so soon.

Owing to the stripping of the ashlar there is now no evidence of any other subdivisions of the subvault than those mentioned above, nor anything to show to what uses it was put. The several doorways in the east wall prove that at any rate the greater part of it must have served as a thoroughfare, and if the eastern alley were so occupied, the western alley might well have been used, towards the north as a storeplace, towards the south as the novices' department. The fireplace in the south-east corner is suggestive of that part being partitioned off to form the checker or office of the chamberlain or some such officer.

The alteration at the fifth bay noted above was evidently due to the fact that the eastern range was first lengthened to provide a new and enlarged dorter, which the monks could use pending the reconstruction of the old and the rebuilding of the chapter-house. These operations filled up with new work the space between the transept and the southern limit of the cloister as enlarged by the taking in of the old frater area, and included the continuation of the subvault northwards and of the dorter above as far as the transept.

The Dorter.

The monks' *dormitorium*, dormitory, or dorter,* as it was more shortly called, occupied the first floor of the whole of the buildings just described, as well as the room over the chapter-house. It was provided with two staircases: the one on the west, leading up from the cloister, for use by day; the other on the north, leading down into the transept, by which the monks went to the church shortly after midnight to say their *vigiliæ* or mattins. These night stairs did not open directly into the dorter, but into a lobby 13 feet wide formed above the chapter-house vestibule and its flanking chambers. This lobby, which was three bays long, was lighted by a pair of lancets in each bay, but the first pair of lancets are three feet taller than the rest, to give more light to the descending stairs that passed beneath them.

The room over the chapter-house was open to the lobby, but owing to the greater height of the chapter-house, its floor was about five feet above the general level of the dorter. It was lighted by pairs of lancets in each bay, but these were much shorter than the other dorter windows, so that the roof might be kept down to the same height as the main one, which abutted against the transept. There is no evidence that this room was used for a *scriptorium*, or for any other purpose than a place to sleep in.

The rest of the dorter was lighted from end to end by pairs of lancets like those in the lobby. Externally the bays are marked towards the cloister by recessing the windows between pilaster buttresses rising from a string course, but on the east, and probably on the west after the windows cleared the day staircase there, the buttresses

* The old English word "dorter," meaning a dormitory or sleeping place, occurs in the form of "dortore" before the end of the thirteenth century. It is derived from the old French *dortour* or *dortier*, which in turn comes from the Latin *dormitorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iii. 607, s v. Dortour, Dorter.

started

started from the ground. The windows are not grooved for glass, but rebated for a frame in which the glazing was fixed. Only the northernmost part of the dorter walls now remains, but the west wall extends far enough south to include one side of the entrance from the day stair. A regular series of beam holes between the windows internally seems to show that the dorter was, as usual in later times, divided up into cubicles.

Against the dorter wall may be seen the mark of the day stairs. They started in the corner of the cloister, and passed upwards through the arch to a landing in front of the dorter doorway. The steps seem to have been about forty in number, with a rise of $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches and a tread of $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches; their breadth is uncertain. The staircase was covered by a pointed barrel vault, with transverse ribs, of six bays, springing from an ornamented stringcourse. It was lighted apparently by a window towards the cloister. At the foot of the stairs is a trefoiled niche in the wall for a light or cresset.

The Reredorter.

Over the fifth pair of windows on the east side of the dorter, and extending from buttress to buttress, are two round-headed arches, carried by an intermediate corbel, and built out about two feet in advance of the parapet. There is nothing to suggest their object or use, but they may have had something to do with a destroyed building that here abutted against the fifth and sixth bays. This was a two-storied structure that formed, on the first floor, the way to the *dormitorii necessaria* or reredorter. This latter, of which only the lower parts now remain, stood north and south parallel with the dorter, from which it was distant 31 feet. It consisted originally of a long narrow basement at least 40 feet long, and of the first date, divided longitudinally by a thin wall into two parallel water-courses. This wall was no doubt carried up as high

high as the first floor to carry a partition dividing the rows of seats there, which would be placed back to back against it over the water-course below. After the erection of the new dorter, the reredorter was added to at each end, thereby increasing its length to 97 feet, and afterwards connected with the dorter by the building above mentioned. This building or bridge was entered by a door at the dorter level, but this too has been destroyed. The lower or ground story had a doorway into it from the dorter subvault, which seems to have been partly overlapped by an added staircase to the first floor; there is also an original doorway opposite in the reredorter basement. The south wall had in it at least one window, and in its lower part are formed two massive straight-sided straining arches, as if to distribute the weight over a soft or marshy spot. An added wall further on against the southern end of the reredorter contains a similar arch, but segmental in form.

Owing to the diversion of the water-course in recent times the stream no longer runs through the reredorter, and its southern part has been destroyed in making the new channel. But West's plan shows that in his day there was still water running through the building.

The Warming House.

The buildings on the south side of the cloister have been so completely destroyed that very little else than their foundations is left to tell of their position, extent, and history.

Immediately west of the dorter stairs was the *calefactorium* or warming-house, containing a fire or fires at which the monks might come and warm themselves in winter. From the existing foundations the *calefactorium* at Furness was 40 feet long and had certainly one fireplace, in the west wall. The width is uncertain, since there seems to have been a passage on the east which was probably shut off by a wall or partition from the rest of the room.

The

The Frater.

According to the direction for the Sunday procession, the place visited next after the *calefactorium* was the *refectorium* or frater,* where the monks took their meals.

Of the frater at Furness nothing is standing above ground, but the site is marked by a puzzling series of foundations. These were partly uncovered in 1881-2, but have since been more fully investigated and planned. It is still not easy to make out their sequence, but the following explanation may help to elucidate it.

The first frater stood east and west on the south side of the old square cloister, and was 26½ feet wide and 55 feet long.† On the east of it was a passage through the range, 11½ feet wide, and in continuation of it westwards as far as the *cellarium* was a large chamber, about 27½ feet square, which probably served as the kitchen, or contained the buttery and pantry and the way to the kitchen. Both this chamber and the passage probably had, or were intended to have, rooms over them.

When the abbey became Cistercian a new frater, 27½ feet wide and 71 feet long, but standing Cistercian-wise, north and south,‡ appears to have been built up against the old frater. The latter was thereupon pulled down, with the buttery, etc. and their area added to the cloister. The south wall of the new frater was extended westwards to the *cellarium* and pierced with a doorway opening into the kitchen yard thus formed.

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* The old English word "frater," meaning a dining-hall, is at least as old as the thirteenth century. It has nothing to do with *frater*, a brother, but is derived directly from the old French *fraitur*, a shortened form of *refreitor* which comes from the Middle Latin *refectorium*. See *A New English Dictionary*, iv. 515, s.v. Frater.

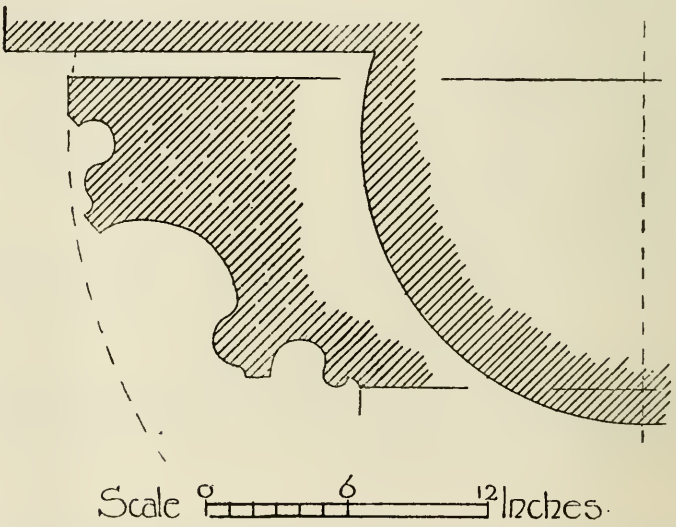
† The foundations of the north wall have lately been traced by Mr. Jesse Turner, and examined and planned by myself, and Mr. Turner has since traced the foundation of the passage on the east.

‡ The frater at Sibton, in Suffolk, was, however, built east and west from the first, for no apparent reason. That at Cleeve was rebuilt in the fifteenth century in the Benedictine manner, but originally followed the Cistercian plan.

This

This state of things did not long continue, inasmuch as the second frater seems to have become too small for the growing convent. It was accordingly taken down and replaced by a bigger hall, about 100 feet long and 40 feet wide, at the expense southwards of about a third of the kitchen and its yard. This alteration appears to have been made much about the time the church was begun to be enlarged.

Early in the thirteenth century the frater was again rebuilt, and extended in length to 153 feet. But the new (fourth) frater was narrower than its predecessor, the width being reduced to 37 feet, probably to make room for



PLAN AND SECTION OF A PURBECK MARBLE CORBEL PROBABLY PART OF THE BASE OF THE FRATER PULPIT.

a new and larger kitchen on the west. A very large corbel of Purbeck marble, apparently part of the base of the pulpit, now lying on the bank west of the *cellarium*, and a number of other architectural fragments can

can hardly have belonged to any other structure than the fourth frater, and they show clearly that much good work must have been lavished upon it. Part of its cornice, carved with masses of leafwork, set at intervals in a broad hollow, was dug up on the site in 1897, and there are other pieces of it in the museum. Some small remains of a lavatory of the same date exist in the south alley of the cloister, between the sites of the old frater and kitchen doorways.

Last, probably late in the fifteenth century, the fourth frater was pulled down and replaced by a new building of much smaller dimensions. For some obscure reason, this was built a little further to the west than its predecessors, and the few remains of its plan have added considerably to the confusion attending the existence of so many series of foundations. It seems to have been about 88 feet long and 32 feet wide, and to have been divided into five bays, with a half-bay at the north end to contain the screens.

For the history of this new hall it is necessary to consider certain points in the constitutions of the Cistercian Order. According to the Customs in force down to 1240, it was directed that "within the monastery let no one eat flesh or anything fat, except the sick and workmen,"* and by an institution of general chapter between 1240 and 1256, this rule, which seems to have originally adopted in 1157, was re-enacted in more precise terms.† But within a hundred years later circumstances had so far changed that by a constitution of Pope Benedict XII. in 1335 the monks were allowed, under certain conditions, to eat meat

* "Intra monasterium nullus vescatur carne aut sagimine, nisi omnino infirmi et artifices conducti." *Consuetudines*, section ii. § xxv. *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 218.

† "Nulla persona Ordinis nostri extra infirmitoria nostra carnes comedat, etiam jussu alicujus Episcopi vel prælati . . . . . In ipsis autem infirmitoriis, nullus Abbas, monachus, vel conversus pro minutione, solatio, consortiove alicujus, aut aliqua occasione, nisi, quemadmodum in Regula continetur, omnino debilis fuerit aut ægrotus, carnes audeat manducare." Institutiones Capituli Generalis 1240 et 1256, Distinctio xiii. § i. *Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 349.

in

in the farmery, and by invitation with the abbot in his lodging. By the end of the fifteenth century it had become the general custom for the monks to eat meat three times a week, on Sundays, Tuesdays and Thursdays, except in Advent, Septuagesima, Lent, and other seasons of fasting; while on the other days they were restricted to the vegetarian diet prescribed by the older rules. But the relaxation in favour of meat did not permit it to be eaten in the frater, nor to be cooked in the common kitchen, it became necessary therefore to provide a special hall, or "misericord," as it was called, for the purpose. As the first indulgence was at first permitted only in the farmery, the new chamber usually formed part of that establishment as at Waverley and Fountains, the meat being cooked in the farmery kitchen. At Clairvaux, where it was also in the farmery, it was called in 1505 "le reffectoir gras, pour ce que lesdicts religieulx y mengent chair les dimanches, mardy, et jeudy . . . . . et à costé dudit reffectoir bas est la fenestre par où l'on sort de la cuysine, appellée la cuysine grasse."* But in some abbeys, as at Kirkstall and Jervaulx, the case was met in another way, by dividing the frater into two stories and using the lower as the misericord and the upper as the frater; and in each case, a new meat kitchen was built on the south-east to serve the misericord, while the old kitchen continued to serve the frater, *reffectoir maigre* as it was called at Clairvaux.

Now with regard to Furness, there does not appear to be any hall or room attached to the farmery which might have served as the misericord, and it is therefore not improbable that the new fifteenth century frater was a two-storied structure, like that at Kirkstall, with the misericord below. A projecting foundation on the west is suggestive of an external service stair to the frater on

* Didron, *Annales Archéologiques*, iii.

the

the first floor, and a possible reason for the interval between the new building and the warming-house on the east was to afford room for a staircase there leading up from the cloister.

To recapitulate, it will be seen that the first Cistercian frater of about 1150 was replaced by a larger one some twenty-five years later; that this in turn gave way to a longer and narrower frater about 1220; which again was replaced in the fifteenth century by a new building of different character.

Such, at any rate, seems to be the story told by the remaining fragments and foundations, and it is difficult to see what else they can be made to represent.

The history of the frater suggested above has been further complicated by the recent discovery* of an earlier foundation underlying the southern end of the first Cistercian frater, and composed of rubble with ashlar quoins. The extent to which it could be traced is shown on the plan. It belonged to a building 30½ feet wide, but what that was it is difficult to say.

The Kitchen.

An even greater difficulty than the history of the frater is presented by that of the *coquina* or kitchen. Of the earliest kitchen there are no remains. When the first Cistercian frater was built, a new kitchen was erected to serve it, probably in the usual place, just off the cloister, from which it was entered, between the frater and the *cellarium*. At the enlargement of the frater in the twelfth century the kitchen must also have been reconstructed, and if it continued in its old position it can only have been extended southwards. The rebuilding of the frater in the thirteenth century also involved the erection of a

* By Mr. Jesse Turner, in February, 1900

new

new and larger kitchen. When the frater was at length pulled down and replaced by a two-storied hall, the further encroachment upon the site of the kitchen necessitated its removal elsewhere, and it may have occupied part of the ground story of the cellarer's building, which had then begun to be put to other uses than originally. The remains of this, however, are hereabouts so destroyed that is is now impossible to say whether such was the case or not. It must not, however, be forgotten that two kitchens were needed to serve the two-storied hall, and if the kitchen in the *cellarium* basement became the *cuisine maigre*, another would be wanted as the *cuisine gras*.

It is not improbable that this was obtained by the retention and conversion of the southern end of the thirteenth century frater. The bonded junction of the remains of its west wall with the south end of the later building is strongly suggestive of some such retention, and a kitchen in this position would correspond with those at Jervaulx and Kirkstall, which served the lower halls there. A further point in favour of this view is that such new kitchen would also serve the monks' infirmary, which, as will be seen below, became in need of it at the same time.

The Cellarer's Building.

The range of building on the west side of the cloister was 223 long by 29 feet wide, and was divided into two vaulted alleys, fifteen and a half bays long, by a central row of pillars. Of these only some of the bases and plinths remain, and of the outer walls little is left beyond the plinths except at the church end, where the northern gable retains part of the upper story.

It is evident upon an examination of the existing foundations, etc. that in the first laying out of the monastery there was begun here a two-storied building at least ten bays long and two bays wide, which was to have had

had a vaulted basement. The responds at the north end, and some of the remaining bases, show that the piers to carry the vault were cylindrical in plan with four small detached shafts, the whole fitted to square scolloped capitals and bases of the type then in fashion.

We are unable to say how far this building was carried up, but as the only remains of it are the north end and the foundations of its east wall, there is little left to tell the story.

After the abbey became Cistercian this range was extended in length and completed, with an external stair on the west side, covering bays 8-10, to give access to the upper floor by day.

In the *Consuetudines* this building is called the *cellarium*, a loose term which gives no clue as to its actual use, since the *cellarium* practically included all those parts of the abbey in the cellarer's department. As a matter of fact this building was for the accommodation of the *conversi* or lay brothers: their frater and other offices forming the ground floor, while the upper story was their dorter.*

As the division of the abbey buildings into two great groups for the use of the monks (*monachi*) and lay brothers

* The identity of this building with the *cellarium* is clearly shown in the history of the sister abbey at Meaux. After describing the building of the monks' dorter and the rest of the eastern range, and of the frater and the buildings flanking it, the chronicler states that the fourth abbot, Alexander (1197-1210), "*refectorium conversorum* ab abbate Thoma inceptum perfecit; et *domum superiorem, scilicet dormitorium eorundem*, inchoavit." [*Chronica de Melsa* (R.S.) i. 326.] The *dormitorium conversorum* was finished by the fifth abbot, Hugh (1210-1220). [*Ibid.* i. 380.] Its position is fixed on the west side of the cloister by two entries: one recording that Abbot William (1372-1396) leaded *inter alia* part of the monks' cloister "ab ostio refectorii monachorum usque ad *dormitorium conversorum*;" the other that Abbot Burton (1396-1399) "ipsam partem claustri a dormitorio monachorum usque *ad dormitorium conversorum* juxta ecclesiam" (*i.e.* the north or church side of the cloister) "fecit tabulis plumboque reparari." [*Ibid.* iii. 224, 241.] At Kirkstall the first stone buildings are recorded to have been, besides the church, "*utrumque dormitorium* monachorum scilicet et *conversorum*, utrumque etiam refectorium, claustrum, et capitulum, etc." *i.e.* all the buildings round the cloister, and since the positions of the monks' dorter and frater are known, there is no doubt that the frater and dorter of the *conversi* formed the western range. [Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, v. 531.] The *dormitorium conversorum* is mentioned in the *Annales de Crokesden* among the buildings erected by Abbot London (1242-1269). [Cott. MS. Faustina B. vi. f. 74.]

(*conversi*)

(*conversi*) respectively is a feature peculiar to the Cistercians, a few words on the difference between the two classes may make matters clearer. Both *monachi* and *conversi* were equally monks in that they had taken the three monastical vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but the *monachi* spent their time in church and cloister, and never left the abbey precincts except in cases of necessity. They were not necessarily priests, although in course of time most of them became so, and then their life differed little from that of the regular canons. The *conversi*, or *fratres laici* as they were also called (in contradistinction to the *monachi*, who were *fratres clerici*), were practically monks who could not read. They were not necessarily of humble origin, but might be, and often were men of good family who desired to enter the monastic life, and being unlettered could only do so by becoming *conversi*, in which condition they always remained, since a *conversus* could never become a *monachus*. They had charge, under the cellarer, of all the secular and external affairs of the monastery, and many of them lived in the granges or farms, which they worked, under the direction of obedientiaries chosen from among themselves. When resident in the abbey, as some of them always were, they kept certain of the hours in the church like the monks, and at the same time, but inasmuch as they could not read they substituted for the regular quire offices certain prayers and psalms which they learnt by heart. As has already been pointed out, the nave of the church was the quire of the *conversi*, and the buildings for their accommodation, which included a dorter, frater, infirmary, etc. were in immediate connection therewith, just as the monks' buildings adjoined their part of the church. The great size of the buildings for the *conversi* has often been commented on. Nothing is known of the number of inmates of the abbey at Furness, but at Waverley at the end of the twelfth century there were 120 *conversi* and 70 monks,

monks, and at Louth Park during the second quarter of the thirteenth century 150 *conversi* and 66 monks. At Meaux in 1349 the *conversi* were only seven in number, all of whom died of the Great Pestilence, as well as 32 out of 42 monks then in the abbey.

After the middle of the fourteenth century the *conversi* in this country seem as a class to have died out, and to have been replaced by hired servants and labourers; probably because the gradual spread of education and other causes had extinguished the class from which they had been formerly drawn. Meaux is one of the few English abbeys where they are known to have been continued, but their number is not recorded, and in the time of Abbot William of Scarborough (1372-1396) they all struck work and were superseded by monks.* Their buildings were then put to other uses. At Hayles the *cellarium* had been converted into the abbot's lodging for some time before the Suppression, and a similar thing seems to have happened at Ford, where the sumptuous hall and other apartments of the abbot's house built by Abbot Chard in 1525 still remain in a most perfect state, extending westwards from the former site of the *cellarium*.†

The *cellarium* at Furness, although built, as to its ground story, as one great apartment vaulted from end to end, was divided as usual by cross walls into several sections. The first and second bays, counting from the north, formed one chamber, which was probably used as the outer parlour, where the monks could meet their friends and transact business with outsiders. For this reason it had two doorways: one from the cloister, the other on the west from

* "Ejus tamen tempore, conversi omnes de monasterio defecerunt; pro quorum numero monachos supplevit, et annuum pensum pro victu conventus augmentavit. Infirmitoria conversorum et sæcularium ab incolis et invalidis destituit. Coquinam infirmitorii conversorum diruit, ac aliam coquinam antiqui hospitii in cameram super polanyhat reformavit, et penticium deinde usque ad magnas portas construxit, quod de capella extra portas fecerat amoveri." *Chronica de Melsa*, iii. 229.

† See a paper by Mr. Gordon M. Hills, published by the British Archæological Association in *Collectanea Archæologica*, ii. 145-159.

without.

without. The next four bays formed two more chambers, separated by a thin wall, and at first probably served as a beer cellar and storeplace, and in part as the buttery. The seventh bay had a doorway at each end and was the main entrance into the cloister. It had also a doorway on the north into the buttery and cellar, and another on the south. The latter opened into the frater of the *conversi*, which occupied the remaining bays, and had also its only doorway from without in the eighth bay.

Of the lay brothers' dorter on the first floor there only remains part of the north gable, with the later doorway already described that gave access to the staircase down into the church.

In later times considerable changes were made in and about the *cellarium*. It had no doubt originally had, as at Fountains, a wooden pentise extending along the west wall from the outer staircase to the church door. In the thirteenth (or perhaps the fourteenth) century the pentise seems to have been rebuilt in stone, and its south end replaced by a porch covering the cloister entry in the seventh bay.* This porch was built in an angle formed by the *cellarium* and a building extending westwards from it, and had a doorway in its north wall into the pentise. After the foundation of the western tower and the consequent shortening of the nave, the doorway to which the pentise led was done away with. The pentise having thus become useless, seems to have been taken down and the doorway into it from the porch walled up.

The extinction of the *conversi*, which probably took place at Furness, as elsewhere, about the middle of the fourteenth century, led to a rearrangement of the building hitherto occupied by them. The two bays forming the parlour were made more comfortable by the insertion of a fireplace in the wall to the south. Another fireplace

* There seems to have been a like porch at Fountains.

back

back to back with this shows that the next two bays had ceased to be cellars and also become habitable; and the walling up of the doorway from the cloister entry into the old buttery suggests that a third room had been formed out of this also, although no traces of the fireplace remain. The doorways into the former frater of the lay brothers from the cloister and entry were also blocked, and the frater itself was subdivided into at least two chambers. One of these, occupying the four bays (8-11) south of the entry (7) may have served, in later times, as suggested above, as one of the kitchens to the two-storied frater, and the wide arch in the east wall of the eleventh bay was perhaps then inserted to facilitate the service. The remaining bays, which were partly subdivided towards the south, may well have served as cellarage instead of the chambers further north.

Of the use to which the upper story was put we have no information. Perhaps it became a wool store.

It has been already noted that a building extended westward from the middle of the length of the *cellarium*, with which it seems to have been contemporary. Not improbably, as in the corresponding example of Jervaulx, it served as the lay brothers' rere-dorter. In the fifteenth century, however, it was taken down, with the exception of the lower part of its west wall, and replaced by another building of about the same size, of uncertain use. Of this only the lower parts are left, on the north side with three windows, two being squareheaded and of two lights, the third a mere loop.

At its west end the building just described abutted against a retaining wall running north and south against the bank. This wall is now considerably ruined, but there seems to have been a gateway in it just to the north of the building, to give access from without to the entry to the cloister.

THE

The Infirmary of the Conversi.

From the building west of the *cellarium*, there extend southwards for at least 60 feet the foundations of a stone wall. This evidently continued some 26 feet further and there abutted against the end of a large building, attached to the south-west angle of the *cellarium*. Of this edifice, which is now almost entirely destroyed, there remain a few detached fragments of the northern end, a considerable length of walling on the west, with a water-course along its base, and a piece of the rough foundation of its south-east angle, within the area of a later building.

These remains when laid down on plan are seen to be those of a large hall, probably of five bays, about 90 feet long and 17 feet broad, built north and south, with an aisle of the same area on the east, divided from it by piers and arches. On the west was a narrower aisle or attached building through which ran the watercourse above noted. The hall had a wide entrance doorway on the north, of the thirteenth century, to which date the whole structure probably belonged, and was no doubt approached from the *cellarium* porch by a pentise, built against the wall already mentioned.

From the fact that this building was in contact with the *cellarium* as well as in communication with it by the pentise, it is almost certain that, like those in the corresponding positions at Fountains and Jervaulx, it was the *infirmitorium conversorum* or infirmary of the lay brothers, consisting of a large hall, perhaps with a kitchen in the north end of its aisle,* and a garderobe or rere-dorter on the west.

Such a department was certainly included among the buildings of the abbey, as well as an infirmary for seculars,† and there is positive documentary evidence of

* A convenient drain here ran beneath the floor.

† See Beck (p. 128) for an undated deed of the twelfth century which mentions gifts made *ad usum pauperum in infirm*[*aria*] *secular*i.

both

both at Pipewell and Meaux. At Pipewell they are enumerated in the list of places to which *ligniferi* were appointed *ad portandum cotidie siccum boscum et mortuum* for the fires.* At Meaux the *infirmitorium conversorum* is recorded to have been built by Abbot Driffield, 1249-69; and during the rule of Abbot William of Scarborough (1372-96): "*Infirmitoria conversorum et secularium* ab incolis et invalidis destituit. *Coquinam infirmitorii conversorum* diruit, etc." †

The garderobe on the west of the building at Furness is of such a length that it is not improbable that it was subdivided, and also served as a reredorter in connexion with the *cellarium*. The manner in which the infirmary is attached to the last-named building would render communication between them quite possible by means of a bridge across the north end of the hall. Some remains of a second line of wall on the bank above the watercourse shew that the reredorter had an upper story which extended westward beyond the line of the drain, and formed a passage in front of the garderobes.

The almost total destruction and even uprooting of the foundations of the lay brothers' infirmary, and the fact that its southern end is overlaid by a later building, seem to point to its demolition some time before the Suppression. The great garderobe may, however, have remained until the last, together with some part of the north end of the hall to carry the bridge to it; the preservation of their remain would thus be accounted for.

The Infirmary of the Monks.

The southern end of the monastic precinct was closed by a large block of buildings standing east and west, extending from the infirmary of the lay brothers to some little way beyond the south end of the eastern range.

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* Cott. MS. Otho B. 14, f. 150*b*.
† *Chronica de Melsa*, iii. 229.

This

This block formed the *infirmitorium*, infirmary, or "farmery" as it was more usually called for short, of the monks. The monastic infirmary was, as its name implies, not only the hospital for sick, but also the abode of infirm monks, and such as had been professed fifty years (*sempectæ*). It was, further, the temporary lodging of the *minuti*, or monks who had been let blood. This operation was undergone by the Cistercians in companies four times in the year, usually in February, April, September, and about Midsummer-day, but not during harvest, nor in Advent or Lent, nor the first three days of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. For the accommodation of these several sections of the convent, an establishment of some size was necessary; and the great infirmaries at Canterbury, Peterborough, and Fountains were probably fully tenanted when the monastic fervour was at its height. According to the *Consuetudines*, the *minuti* among the Cistercians did not go into farmery, but remained in cloister and took their meals in the frater. But probably by the time these infirmaries were built at Fountains and elsewhere, they were used in the same way as in other Orders. In later times, when the number of the monks had diminished, the infirmary seems to have been devoted to other purposes as well.

The monks' infirmary at Furness consisted of a great hall with a two-storied building at the west end, and a chapel and buttery at the other extremity with chambers over them. From the buttery a passage led round to a detached octagonal kitchen on the east. The infirmary communicated directly with the cloister by means of a pentise reaching from the hall doorway to the warming house, built parallel with and some 10 or 12 feet distant from the west wall of the dorter range, so as not to obscure the subvault windows. With the exception of the kitchen, which was older, the whole block dates from one period, the last quarter of the thirteenth century.

The

WALL ARCADE AT EAST END OF THE INFIRMARY HALL.

The great hall, which was of five bays, was 126 feet long and 47 feet broad, but has been so completely destroyed that only its east end is now standing to any height, and its north and south walls are ruined to their foundations and plinths respectively. A small fragment, however, of each remains attached to the east end, and from these it is possible to recover some of the arrangements.

The walls were divided into two stories. The lower or ground story, which was 14 feet high, seems to have had a continuous arcade of moulded pointed arches carried by triplets of shafts set in front of as many dividing piers, the whole being set upon a stone bench table. On the east wall, there are seven such arches, five broad, three of which are pierced as doorways, and two narrower end ones, each containing a locker recess. Along the side walls there were three arches to a bay, and within each was a wide recess 6 feet 7 inches long, 3 feet deep, and 9 feet high, lighted by a low window. These recesses probably held beds for the inmates. A similar arrangement existed in the aisles of the farmery of the lay brothers at Fountains, a century earlier. At Furness the fifth arch on the north side seems to have contained the main entrance, and on the south side the sixth and seventh arches had fireplaces in them. This leaves fourteen bed recesses on the north and thirteen on the south, and there seems to have been room for four more on the west, making a total of thirty-one. The floors of the recesses were level with the bench table on which the arches stood.

The upper story, which was at least 20 feet high, seems to have had in each bay a four-light window, with pointed rear-arch, flanked by two acutely pointed wall-arches. On the north, a jamb of the easternmost window is left, together with one of the side panels. Internally these arches formed a continuous arcade carried by triplets of engaged shafts. The arcade was also returned across the east

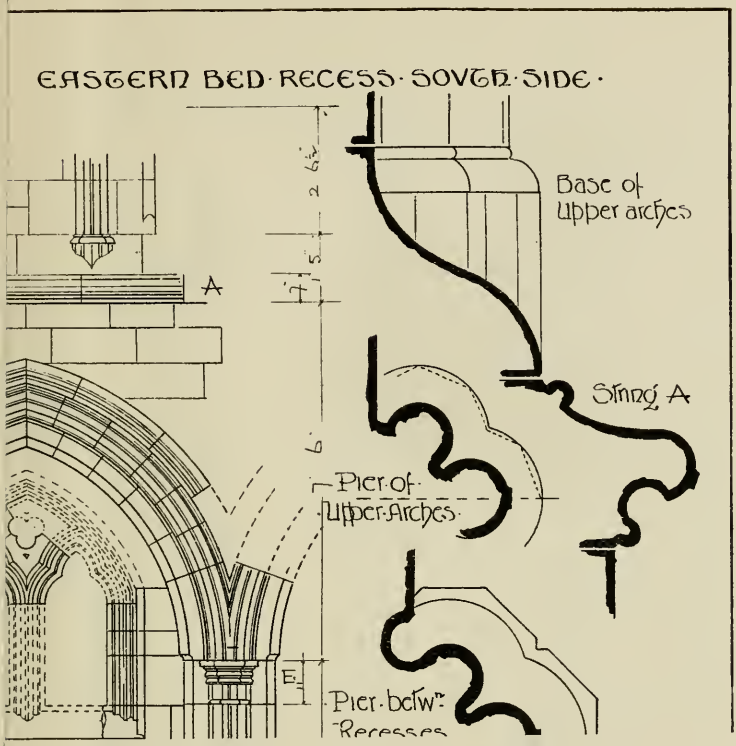
east (and probably the destroyed west) wall, but here it consisted of six blind arches of equal height and breadth.

How or whether the hall was subdivided there is nothing whatever to show. The arrangement of the side walls and the remains of the east end rather suggest that instead of being cut up by arcades the hall was roofed in one span. But at the time of its building a roof with tie beams over 50 feet long would scarcely have been left entirely unsupported save at the ends, and not improbably the main divisions were also upheld by wooden posts or pillars. From such posts, if placed near enough to the side walls, it would have been possible to run partitions so as to form cubicles in front of the bed recesses. The arrangement would thus have afforded an example of the transition from beds laid along one side of the hall or in an aisle to the separate chambers traceable at Fountains and elsewhere. The substitution of wall fireplaces for the open braziers beneath a central louvre is also noteworthy. A like feature occurs in John of Kent's farmery hall at Fountains.

The west end of the hall was covered by a two-storied building, externally of the same width, but internally nearly 21 feet wide from east to west and 50¼ feet from north to south. The northernmost third of the ground story was cut off from the rest by a cross wall,* but there is nothing to show what it is used for, unless it contained latrines, over a drain that ran beneath its floor. The larger chamber had a doorway from the hall, and against its western side are the lower portions of four stone piers with chamfered bases, but unequally spaced. Behind them towards the south two deep recesses are sunk into the wall, with an opening through the intervening masonry. These are contemporary with the hall and were probably

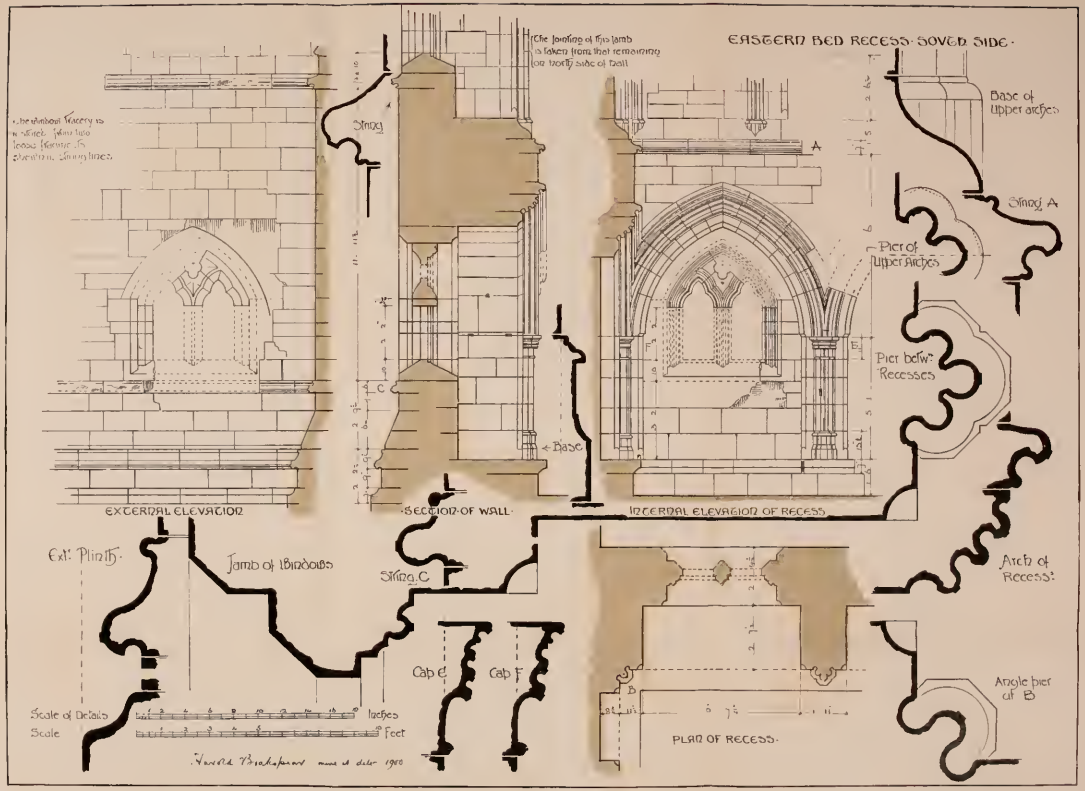
* In the western end of this wall are the traces of a narrow doorway.

cupboards



* The chamfered base of the fourth pier is a piece of older work re-used.

of



FURNESS ABBEY.—DETAILS OF THE INFIRMARY HALL

cupboards, but the piers are a little later and not bonded into the wall,* and the object of them is not apparent.

Of the upper story nothing further can be said than that it existed, and that it was reached by a narrow vice at the south end of the west wall of the great hall, from which it was apparently entered. It was most likely the infirmarer's *camera*.

Attached to the north-west corner of the infirmary block are the ruins of a roughly-built structure of late date, about 32½ feet long and 13½ feet wide. It partly overlies the foundations of the south-east angle of the old infirmary of the *conversi*, which exist under the remains of its flagged floor. There is a doorway in its north wall towards the west, and immediately within it in the angle an ascending flight of steps. As a large tree stands within the building it is not possible to investigate it further, and its use must remain doubtful.

In the southern end of the east wall of the infirmary hall is a moulded doorway into the chapel. This was about 42 feet long and 25 feet wide, and of three bays. It has lost its floor and fittings, and the easternmost windows have lost their tracery, otherwise the chapel is complete even to its vault. Around all four walls is a bench table, on which the vaulting shafts stand, and above this is a belt of ashlar about four feet high surmounted by a moulded string course. The west end and the two westernmost bays of the north side have the rest of the wall also of plain ashlar, but the first north bay, the east end, and the three south bays were severally pierced with windows. The east window was a wide one with a depressed head and seemingly of five lights, but its sill has been destroyed and only a few fragments of the tracery are left. The two windows next it on either side have also lost their tracery. They were, however, clearly

* The chamfered base of the fourth pier is a piece of older work re-used.

of

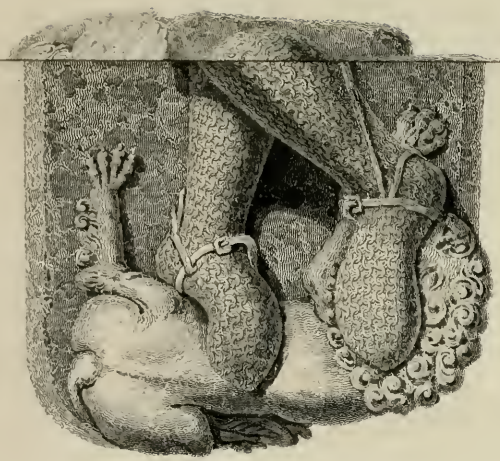
of the same pattern as the two remaining south windows, which are fortunately fairly perfect with the exception of their mullions.* All four windows have depressed and almost straight-sided heads, following the line of the vaulting, and are of two lights. These were trefoiled with a small quatrefoil over, and in the head a cusped circle. The windows had moulded rear-arches carried by shafts, and their arches were themselves richly moulded. In the sill of the first south window are the remains of a somewhat remarkable piscina, etc. It consists of a broad and flat half-octagonal recess, supported in front by a triple shaft, and originally surmounted by a groined canopy. This had on each side a small drain, fashioned in the top of a circular shaft that flanked the central triplet. There are no traces of the altar or its platform. The vault has moulded transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs, without bosses, with narrower longitudinal ribs along the junction of the groins.

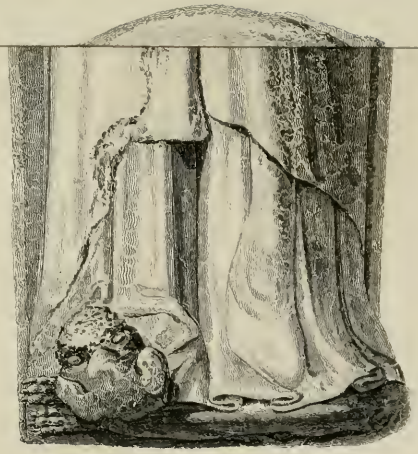
The chapel is now used as a museum for the more important architectural and other remains which have from time to time been found in the ruins. Among them are examples of the twin marble capitals and bases of the thirteenth century cloister, and pieces of some rich fourteenth century screenwork from the church. Here also lie the fine effigies of a knight and lady which were uncovered in the north aisle ;† also the remarkable marble figures of two knights in flat-topped helms, removed from the presbytery,‡ which are among the earliest monumental effigies in this country. Next to them lies another effigy in the same material of a deacon, unfortunately headless, in girded albe, stole, and fanon, holding the *textus* or gospel-book.§

To the north of the chapel, and entered from the hall

* These have been replaced by rough and clumsy blocks of stone.
† See Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, 376 and engraved plate opposite.
‡ *Ibid.* 382, and engraved plate opposite.
§ See the engraving in M. H. Bloxam, *The Principles of Gothic Ecclesiastical Architecture*, 11th edition, iii. 55.

by



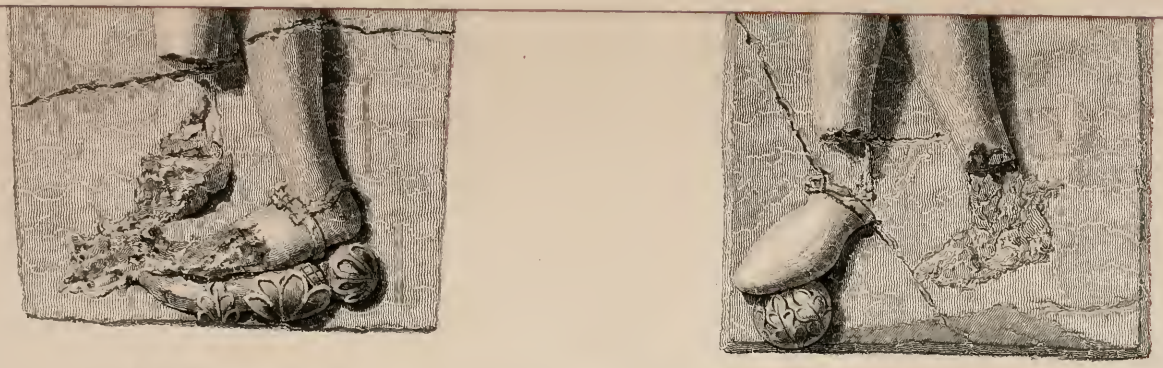


[illegible] F.S.A

Engraved by J. Le Keux [illegible]

EFFIGIES IN THE NORTH AISLE.

NOW REMOVED TO THE INFIRMARY CHAPEL.



Drawn by H. Shaw, F S A

Engraved by J. Le Keux

EFFIGIES IN THE CHANCEL

NOW REMOVED TO THE INFIRMARY CHAPEL.

Printed by Wilson, Kent

by a double doorway, is a chamber of two bays, about 25½ feet long and 17½ feet wide, with a plain quadripartite vault of two severies with chamfered ribs springing from corbels. Although now one room, it is evident upon examination that it was originally divided by a longitudinal partition into two narrow sections, each with its own door from the hall. The southern division has on the east a window of two trefoiled lights with a transom, of which the upper part was glazed, and the lower shuttered. The south wall is plain, and from the cutting away of the vaulting corbel seems to have had a tall press or cupboard against it. A like press perhaps stood against the partition opposite. This division not improbably formed the buttery.

The northern division, which was at first the entry from the kitchen, has another doorway from without opposite to the entrance from the hall, and two other doorways in its north wall. One of these opens into a large circular vice leading to an upper story; the other into the passage to the kitchen. This passage for a few feet runs north, then deflects to the north-east, then again to the east, and finally turned abruptly southwards to the kitchen. From its width, 11½ feet, it was also perhaps partly used as a store-place. Its eastern extremity was over the stream and has been destroyed, and the remainder is standing only to the height of a couple of feet.

The north wall of the kitchen entry is 9½ feet thick and of curious construction. It will be seen from the plan that the north-east angle of the great hall was covered externally by a narrow branch from the gallery of communication with the cloister. From the east end of this branch a small doorway, in the angle between the buttress and the hall wall, opened into an ascending staircase in the thickness of the wall. This staircase, which is at first oblique, but afterwards straight, is carried up sufficiently high to pass over the doorway of the kitchen

kitchen passage below and thence to the vice beyond, into which it led. The vice opens into a narrow passage, also in the thickness of the wall. This passage has a wide doorway in the middle of its length, with a small square-headed window beyond it, and was roofed with stone slabs. The doorway opened northwards, apparently into a wooden gallery surmounting the passage to the kitchen. Opposite the doorway an ascending flight of eight steps led up to the chambers above the buttery and chapel. This upper story has been so ruined that it is difficult to make out its arrangements, the east and south walls being levelled to the floor. It seems to have been divided into two rooms corresponding to those below. That over the buttery had two trefoil lights of unequal width in the north wall. The room over the chapel was subdivided by a broad but low arch* on the line between the first and second bays, and had a garderobe on the west, with a shaft descending through the wall into the drain below. The whole thus comprised (1) a living room and bedroom above the chapel, (2) a lobby and servant's room over the buttery and kitchen entry, and (3) a gallery or walking-place, and perhaps an oratory, over the kitchen passage. It had further an independent connexion with the cloister, and communicated directly with the kitchen, etc. The entire arrangement and its approaches are so curious that they must have had some special use apart from the infirmary, and it is therefore not improbable that, like the similar lodging in the corresponding place at Fountains, we have here the original *camera* for the father-abbot of Savigny, or his deputy, when he held his annual visitation of the abbey.

Close to the north-east angle of the infirmary block are the remains of a large octagonal kitchen, 37 feet in diameter, of the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

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*The springing of this remains on the north side.

Although

NORTH SIDE OF THE EASTERN PART OF THE INFIRMARY.

Although afterwards connected with it by the passage already described, and by a wooden pentise directly with the entry from the hall, it is clear from their difference of date that the kitchen did not originally belong to the infirmary block, the east end of which was specially planned to avoid it. It had a fireplace in one angle, and a flagged floor, on which stood several stone troughs or sinks, with a convenient drain through the wall. The beck which ran beneath the building served to carry away all refuse thrown into it. The recent excavations disclosed a number of architectural fragments, which shewed that the kitchen had been covered with a ribbed vault and surmounted by an octagonal lantern, all of stone. Some portions of a hooded fireplace were also found.

At some time in the fifteenth century the kitchen either fell down or was demolished, and henceforth, as suggested above, the infirmary would be served by the new kitchen formed in the south end of the old frater.

To the south-east of the kitchen are the remains of several other buildings that seem once to have formed part of the same group. The most prominent of them stands only a few yards away, and consisted of a square chamber, also of the thirteenth century, and originally vaulted, built athwart the beck. From it a long narrow edifice extended westwards,* and another smaller one eastwards, and other walls run southwards, but there is not enough to indicate or suggest what purpose they served. The structure above the beck may have been a conduit. A little to the east, but now concealed by the shrubbery, are the remains of another thirteenth century building. It was about 16 feet wide and at least 60 feet long, with certainly two narrow windows on the north, and a small doorway on the south, but its west wall is set at a very considerable angle, perhaps to avoid a too near

* This retains towards the north the base of a narrow window, through the sill of which a leaden pipe (see plan) passed in the direction of the kitchen.

approach

approach of the south-west angle to the beck, which runs through a tunnel hard by. This building, which had an upper story, impinges upon the wide angle of an earlier edifice to the south of of it, which had good ashlar walls over 4 feet thick. Of this only a fragment is left, but there is enough to show that the angle was bisected by a cross wall running southwards from it.

The cottage to the south on the other side of the modern road, now tenanted by the abbey guide, is partly ancient and may have formed one of the mills. Behind it is a remarkable arch 6 feet 4 inches high and of 21¾ feet span, and built of voussoirs 3¼ feet wide and from 15 to 18 inches deep. The arch stands detached upon a wall 18 inches high, parallel to and within a few yards of the beck, but its object is not apparent. It is probably of the fifteenth century. Another but smaller and roughly built arch which spans the beck some 50 feet further down probably formed part of a bridge.

The Old Infirmary and Abbot's Lodging.

To the north-east of the octagonal kitchen was a group of buildings, which must now be described.

This group, which has only recently been completely laid bare, consists of (1) a central block of the same date as the octagonal kitchen, etc., (2) additions and rebuildings of the fourteenth century, and (3) extensions and alterations of the fifteenth century.

The original central block stands roughly north and south, within a few feet of the face of a low cliff, probably the remains of one of the quarries from whence the building stone of the abbey was got. It consisted of an undercroft or hall of five bays, 70 feet long and 26 feet wide, with a staircase block at the north-west angle leading to an upper floor, and a two-storied garderobe at the south end. The octagonal kitchen evidently belonged to it, and there was another building away to the north. Both were probably connected with the main block by pentises. The

TREFOILED OPENING IN THE SOUTH WALL OF THE OLD INFIRMARY HALL.

(TO FACE P. 291.)

The thirteenth century upper floor has been destroyed, but of the hall beneath there are some interesting remains, although its west wall has nearly all gone. It was entered by a doorway in the west wall, in the second bay from the north. The first bay was blind, owing to the staircase block against it, but the other three bays on this side no doubt had windows like those remaining opposite. The east wall had a central fireplace, originally of some architectural pretensions, and at least three two-light windows in the remaining bays; the northernmost bay has been cut through for a later doorway. The windows were coupled lancets, with the sills carried nearly down to the floor and fitted with stone seats. The north end has a perfect window of the same pattern, but with narrower lights, and an entrance doorway from without, now blocked. The south end was no doubt similarly arranged, but the place of the window has been cut away and the doorway mutilated. Immediately to the east of both the north and the south doorways, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the floor, is a trefoiled aperture $14\frac{3}{4}$ inches wide and 13 inches high, carried right through the wall. The object of these openings, which were not closed in any visible way, is not apparent.

Beneath the eastern side of the hall, as may be seen from the plan, once ran a branch of the drain, in an arched tunnel, 6 feet wide. On emerging from beneath the hall this drain continued on for some yards and then turned sharply westwards, traversing in so doing the end of the garderobe mentioned above. In order to afford as wide an angle as possible to the drain the end of the garderobe is built obliquely. From its south-west corner a wall extends as far as the corner of the vaulted structure athwart the beck, already noticed.

The staircase block at the north-west corner of the hall seems to have consisted of (1) a series of piers supporting the steps, which led upwards from north to south, and (2)

a square chamber beneath the landing at the head of the stair. This chamber had a door on the south and apparently a window on the west, and perhaps served as the prison.

The beginning of the staircase has been destroyed by later works, as well as the means of communication between the hall and an original building further north, of which only some foundations and part of a flagged floor are left.

As to the use of the thirteenth century buildings just described, there can be little doubt that at first they formed the monks' infirmary, being connected with the cloister by a gallery or passage extending from the staircase foot to a doorway opposite in the dorter subvault. The lower story formed the "fermery hall," while upstairs would be the chapel and accommodation for the sick, and perhaps for the visiting abbot.

After the building of the new infirmary block early in the fourteenth century, the old infirmary seems to have become the abbot's lodging, and various alterations were thereupon made in and about it. First the hall was vaulted in ten compartments, with a quadripartite vault with moulded ribs, resting on a central row of four octagonal columns and on corbels let into the walls. The upper floor was next extended westwards about 17 feet, upon arches carried by massive buttress-like projections, probably to form a large hall with western aisle. A similar extension was also made eastwards to the face of the cliff there, supported by arches built into the rock.

From the arrangement of these supports it appears that this eastern addition consisted of three divisions: (1) a large chamber, perhaps the abbot's solar, about 40 feet long and 23 feet wide, standing north and south; (2) a chapel, about 38 feet long and 13 feet wide; and (3) a bedroom, some 23 feet long and 14 feet wide. This last extended a few feet south of the hall, to give access to the upper

upper floor of the garderobe; it apparently had a fireplace in the east wall. The solar also probably had a fireplace, on the west side, and at its north-west corner was a vice from the basement or ground floor. The western part of the chapel seems to have been carried upon wooden joists, but the altar platform was supported partly by masonry and partly by the rock. The chapel must have been lighted by an east window high up. Of the western extension nothing is left save the bases of three of the buttress-like supports, but of the eastern addition parts of the walls remain, both above and below the cliff, as well as the springers in the rock, the supports of the chapel floor against the under hall, and the lower part of the vice at the northern end. Besides the evidence afforded by these and by sundry architectural fragments found during the excavations there is, however, nothing to prove that the arrangements described actually existed, and they can therefore only be regarded as suggestions.*

From the fragments above referred to it is clear that the additions described were architecturally of some importance, and the utter destruction of them is much to be deplored. The restoration† (on the next page) of a wheel window from a surviving fragment will give some idea of the excellence of the work.

It will be seen from the plan that the changes above described must have had the effect of converting the original hall on the ground floor into a cellar or servants' apartment, lighted by its end windows only, and not improbably it was so used.

Whether the abbot's lodging continued to be served from the octagonal kitchen, or from another elsewhere it is impossible to say.

At some time during the fifteenth century further

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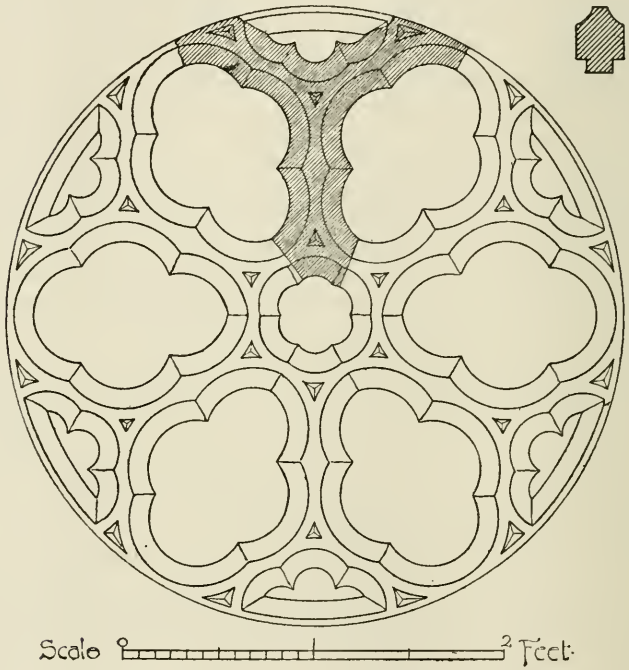
* For them I have to thank my friend Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A.
† For this I am also indebted to Mr. Brakspear.

alterations

alterations were made in the abbot's lodging. Access to the upper floor had hitherto continued to be by the original western staircase, which opened into the screens at the north end of the abbot's hall. The steps were now, however, done away with, the lower ones entirely removed, and a large building erected between the old thirteenth



Suggested Restoration of a Wheel Window in the Abbot's Lodging.

century hall and the contemporary structure further north. The new building has unluckily been so destroyed that only the plinth of its western side remains. It had a doorway, of which the step is left, on the north, but there is nothing else to show its plan or extent, or whether it was

was roofed or merely a yard. Much of it is roughly flagged. Of the same date is a wall extending across its southern end as far as a large and somewhat rudely-built mass of masonry erected against the north wall of the old fermery hall. From this mass another wall extended obliquely in a northerly direction to a large stone step or slab, 26 feet away. This seems to have formed the base of a new staircase to the upper floor, leading, as before, into the screens of the abbot's hall, but through the north wall, instead of the western end. The openings in the remaining portion of the old staircase were then built up, probably to carry a new additional chamber on the upper level.

Besides these new works, there extends northwards from the north-east angle of the hall a massive wall over 8 feet thick and at least 36 feet long. It contains two two-light windows, set as it were at the outer ends of two tunnels with flat sills and segmental heads, and clearly formed part of a building in continuation of the eastern addition to the old fermery hall, extending behind nearly to the rock. Of the north and east walls, however, there are no remains. Besides the windows the west wall has a recess in the south end, divided midway by a stone shelf. In the lower division is a drain. On the ground floor, therefore, the building no doubt belonged to the service department. Between the windows is a circular shaft in the thickness of the wall, of carefully built masonry, nearly 4 feet in diameter, which descended from an upper floor to the level of the stream below. This clearly served as a draw well, and near the top the stonework is worn away by the friction of the bucket rope. The upper chamber thus indicated was reached from the new staircase by an existing stone bridge or landing thrown across from it, and most likely served as the kitchen to the abbot's hall. The thick wall would amply suffice to carry the fireplace, etc. The kitchen itself has been completely destroyed. From

From the south end of the abbot's lodging there extends nearly to the opposite angle of the monks' infirmary a high and massive wall, 5 feet 2 inches thick, pierced midway by a wide pointed arch with depressed head. From the fact that it traverses the site of the thirteenth century octagonal kitchen some have been led to regard it as of post-suppression date, but it is certainly ancient, and its history and purpose seem to be as follows.

It has been suggested above that after the building of the fifteenth century frater and misericord, the southern end of the thirteenth century frater was converted into the meat kitchen, and served both the misericord and the fermery hall. As the abbot had also just provided himself with a new kitchen on the first floor of his lodging, the old octagonal kitchen now became useless, and was pulled down. The upper chambers of the east end of the infirmary were then connected with the abbot's lodging by a gallery running along the top of the thick wall, which was built to carry it, and could thus be utilized at need for guests, or any other purpose.

Before leaving the abbot's lodging, it may be as well to quote the description of the "Scyte of the Monastarye" in the certificate of the revenues of the abbey made by the King's commissioners after the suppression :

Also the Scyte of the said late Monastary standith in a valey and hath a greate Course of water ronnying thorowe the same and is inclosed with a greate stone walle whiche is in Circuite by estymacion nere aboute A myle wherin is yet lefte standyng for a ffermour to inhabyte and dwell in A ffayer Hall with a buttrye a Pantry a Kechyn and two greate brasse Potts there ffastenyd as standardes to the Howse a Larder a Seller a Backhowse a Brewhowse and a Leade to brewe In a greate maltying Howse a Garner a Stable and many other Howses necessarye for a ffermour and a xj. Chambers greate and smalle wherof Dyvers of them have Chymneys and Wyddraughts * with a greate garden and a greate Orchard hard adjoyneng to the late Abbottes lodging and many

* *I.e.* garderobes.

other

other smalle orchardes and gardens lately occupyed by the monks of the same late Monastary being well Replenysshed with Trees of sundry ffrutes and moche ffayer pasture grounde and many Trees of Oke Asshe and other wood growing within the same Walls sufficient for the yerely ffewell of the ffermor there And also a Horsemyll and ij Watermylles to grynde the ffermors Corne opon alle whiche the premysses within the said Walle ys extendyd by the said Comyssyoners to the yerely value of vj.li.*

On comparing this description with the plan and arrangements of the abbot's lodging and its surroundings, it will be seen that the building "left standing for a ffermour," although not named, was most likely the abbot's lodging itself. It is improbable that any other building within the precinct would possess such adjuncts as those described, whereas they fit in excellently with the existing remains on the eastern part of the site. The "ffayer Hall," etc. with its buttery, pantry and kitchen would be, as suggested, on the upper floor, with larder and cellar below, while the bakehouse and brewhouse and the great malting house may well have been in the northern end of the block. The garner, the stable, and "other Howses necessarye for a ffermour" may be looked for southwards among the foundations and fragments of buildings east of the *infirmitorium*. The reference to "a xj. chambers greate and smalle," divers of which had chimneys and "Wyddraughts," also points to such a mansion as the abbot's lodging, which contained sundry rooms, and some of these, as the remains show, had fire-places with ornamental chimneys, and garderobes adjoining. †

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* Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, appendix, lxii. The text printed above has been kindly collated for me with the original by Mr. William Page, F.S.A.

† If the suggestion be correct that the building left standing for the "ffermour" was the abbot's lodging, its destruction may be explained by the following document from Duchy of Lancaster Depositions and Examinations, Edw. VI. [Vol. 55. R. 4], for a transcript of which I am also indebted to Mr. Page:

"Edwarde the Syxte by the grace of God King of England &c. To oure trustie and welbelovyd William Layton Nycholes Thornburgh John Arscot Thomas Carus esquiers Wylliam Sandes & Water Curwen gent | wher by credyble

OTHER

Other Remains.

One other building has yet to be described. This was a detached structure that stood between the abbot's lodging and the southern end of the dorter subvault, within a few feet of the latter, athwart the beck. A few fragments only of it remain, and these are on opposite sides of the stream, which here, as in other parts of its

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report and relacyon made unto our Chauncelor and Counsaill of our Duchie of Lancastre apon the behalffe of John Preston squyer ffermor of the Scyte Howse and Demeane Landes of the late Monastery of ffurnes in our Countye of Lancastre it appearyth that the Halle and other Howses ther be verey Ruynous and in great Decay | The reparacyones wherof heretofore haithe beyn and hereafter is verey lyke to be chargeable and Costely unto us by reason the howses and buyldynges ther beyn overe great to be usyd and maynteynyd for the Mansion Howse of the fermor of the same | And wher as the said John Preston beyng desyrous to have a newe Halle parler Chambres and other howses of offices bylt and made ther apte meett and convenyent for a ffermor ther to Inhabyte . . . mayn | and offred to beare a porcyon of the charges towardes the byldyng of the same | and after the same so bylt to dyscherge us of the reparacions therof duryng his terme yett to Cũme in . . . We have by thadvyse of our said Chauncelor and Counsaill Concludyd and agreid with the said John Preston towchyng the premyssez that is to saye | That the said John Preston schall have of us the some of one Hundreth markes towardes the byldyng of one Substancyall apte and convenyent howse ther wth halle parler Chambres and other howses of offices meett for a gentleman of one hundreth pounde landes to dwell in | apon the buyldyng wherof the said John Preston haith grauntyd to bestowe one hundred markes of his own charges overe and besydes our said allowaunce to hym gyvyn and after the same so bylt to his owen charges to kepe the reparacyons therof suffycyently duryng and by all his terme yett to Cũme in the premyssez | Wherfore our wyll and pleasur is that the said John Preston schall rase and pull downe so many of the olde howses yett ther standyng and beyng as to the dyscrescyons of you . . . iij or ij of you schalbe thoght requysyte and convenyent | And that by the lyke dyscrecyons of you v iiij iij or ij of you | you s . . . to have and take suche and so myche tymbre stone and other thynges of the said olde howses whiche schalbe so Rasyd or pullyd down as schall serve for his purpose towardes his said Buyldyng to thintent that he may employ and bestowe the same about the reedefying of suche the said other newe howses as schalbe buyldyd ther in stede of the said olde howses | And further we wyll and requyre you to putt in Save Custodye to our use all such tymbre and stone whiche schalbe sparyd and remayn not spent in and about the makyng of the said new howses Always forseyn that the said John Preston doo not Rase and pull downe ony of our barnes or stables ther but that the same be preservyd and maynteynyd from tyme to tyme for the use of our said ffermor ther | And further we wyll that you Wylliam Sande doo by warraunt herof content and paye to the said John Preston the said sõme of one hundreth markes of the revenues of our possessyons of the said late monasterye of ffurnes in your handes beyng | and thes our present letteres of comissyon schalbe your sufficient warraunt & dyscherge for the allowaunce of the same at your next accompt apon the sight of these presentes | ffaylle you not to accomplysshe the premyssez as you tendre our pleasur | yevyn &c. at Westm. the xij of ffebruary Ao RR. E vjth Tercio.

Willm Paget
John Caryll."

course

course, was anciently covered in;* but the covering has long since gone, and with it almost all of the building under notice.

It consisted of a quadrangular block, of the fifteenth century, with french buttresses at the angles, measuring externally 50 feet from east to west, and 44 feet from north to south. It was divided lengthwise by a wall into two unequal parts. The northern division, which was the larger, had thick outer walls, and a vice in the north-west angle to an upper floor. Along the south wall was a stone bench, interrupted at the east end by a fireplace, the hearth of which remains. There is nothing to show whether there were any subdivisions, or the position of the door or doors. The southern division has the base of a wall or platform across its eastern end, but is otherwise too ruined to say anything about. Against the north wall of the block, outside, is a short length of a gallery or covered passage of the same date, $5\frac{1}{4}$ feet wide, leading eastwards from a doorway in the dorter subvault. Besides giving access to the block itself, it probably continued up to the abbot's lodging, and so connected that with the other buildings.

From the imperfect remains of the block just described, it is not easy to say how it was arranged or for whose use it was built. It clearly formed a *camera* or lodging for someone, perhaps for the visiting abbot. The ground floor may then have contained his hall with a kitchen and servants' department, with the solar, bedroom, and chapel on the floor above, and inasmuch as the difference in the thickness of the walls suggests that the northern division was higher than the southern, there may have been an upper story over the hall and solar for the accommodation of servants.

* The greater part of the section of the stream eastwards of the church was covered with a segmental barrel vault, the springing of which remains along both sides. A branch of the beck starting from the modern bridge opposite the chapter-house and rejoining the main stream south of the old reredorter end still retains its covering.

upper

There are other buildings connected with the abbey of which we have documentary evidence only.

Thus certain interrogatories and depositions made in a suit in the Court of Augmentations in 1542, mention "a place called the Screpter," or, as it elsewhere appears, "the Scriptory."* It seems from the context to have formed part of the bursary, or bursar's checker, wherever that was. It may have been over the warming-house.

In 1344 letters close from Edward III. were directed to the abbot of Furness, *inter alios*, directing him to make, for the collectors of the tenth and fifteenth lately granted to the king by Parliament, "quandam domum, congruam et fortem, in eadem abbatia, ubi denarii prædicti securius custodiri," and to which the collectors should have ingress and egress at will.† There is, however, no evidence to show if such house was built, or where.

The writer cannot conclude this paper without expressing his indebtedness to the President, the late Chancellor Ferguson, and to the Council of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society for having afforded him such ample opportunities for exploring and examining the ruins of Furness Abbey. He has also to thank Mr. W. Whitworth of the Furness Railway Company for much useful help during the excavations, Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite and Mr. John Bilson for overlooking his proofs, and Mr. Harold Brakspear, Mr. C. R. Peers, and Mr. J. F. Curwen for their valuable aid in preparing

* Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, appendix, lxxxviii. xc.
† T. Rymer, *Foedera* (ed. 1825), iii. part i. 24.

preparing the plans and drawings. The writer also wishes to put on record the important help rendered by Mr. Jesse Turner, the abbey guide, through the investigations so successfully carried out by him, and to thank him for much useful information.

Of the illustrations Mr. Curwen has kindly contributed the elevations of the lower parts of the presbytery walls. For the remainder the Society is indebted to Mr. Harold Brakspear.

For the ground plan the writer is himself responsible, but he has to thank Mr. Brakspear for the plans of the gatehouses and gatehouse chapel, and Mr. Peers for the plan of the abbot's lodging, which form part of it.

POSTCRIPT.

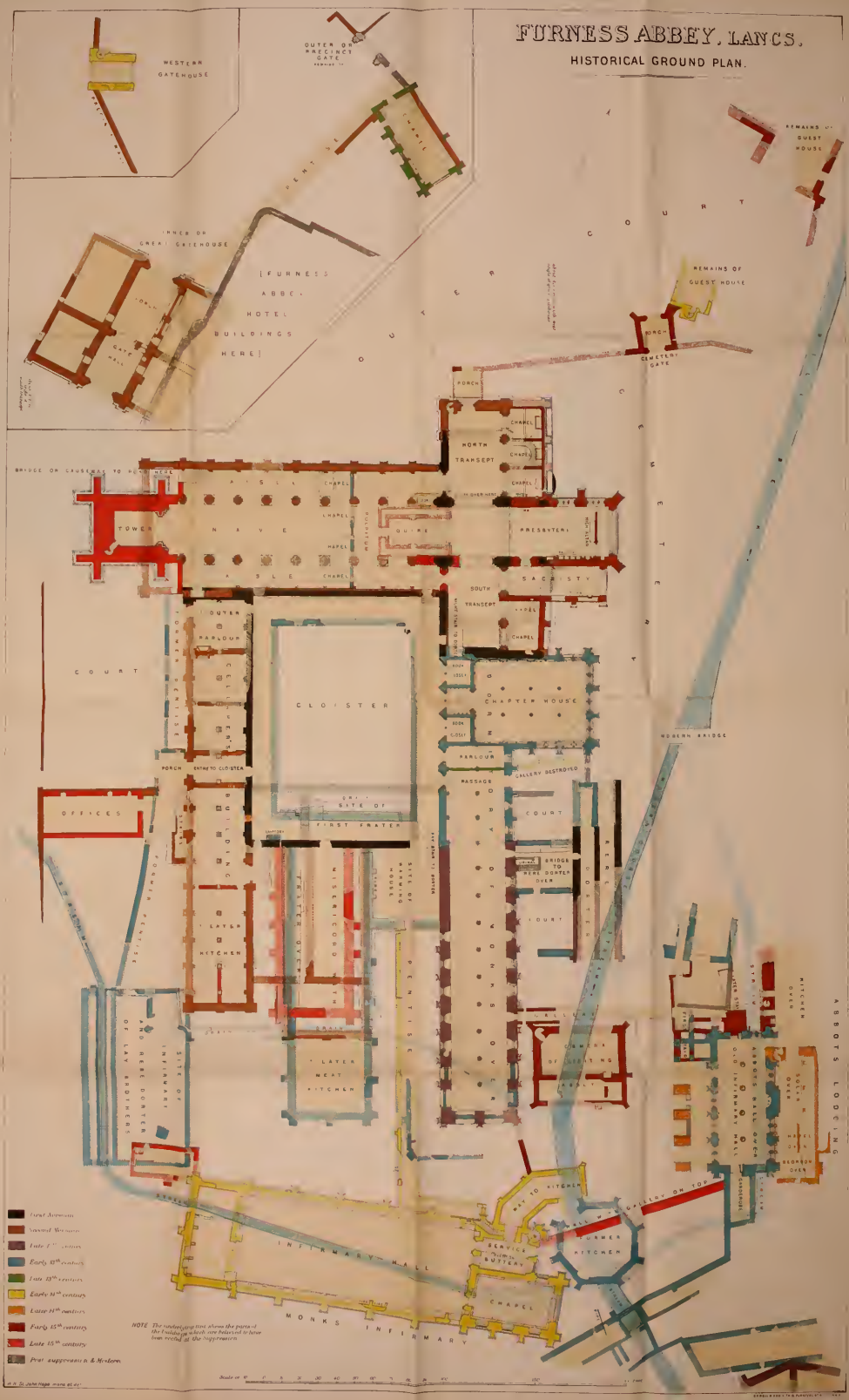
In the account on p. 244 of the remains of the second Norman presbytery, mention ought to have been made of the differences that existed between its floor levels and those of the later work.

During some preliminary excavations in September 1895, a trench was cut in front of the sedilia in the hope of finding some remains of the Norman east front. No such remains were met with, but at a depth of 3 feet 5 inches below the step on which the sedilia stand part of an old floor was exposed. It consisted of two bands of slabs, one 19 and the other 20 inches wide, extending across the presbytery, west of which were other slabs, each 10½ inches square, laid diamondwise. The eastern limit of the transverse bands was 9 inches east of the buttress dividing the first and second sedilia. The northern end of this strip of flooring was uncovered by Mr. Jesse Turner during his excavations at the beginning of this year (1900).

The

The level of this floor with respect to the later work is shewn in Mr. Curwen's sections, which also shew that a step crossed the presbytery just to the east of the blocked Norman arches. As this step is 10½ inches lower than the old floor described above, there was a second step, or more likely two, up to the higher level, probably immediately to the east of the Norman wall pilaster. There must also have been another step further west, perhaps at the entrance of the presbytery, from which the floor extended westwards through the crossing and into the monks' quire in the nave. Here the bases of the eastern responds stood upon it, at a depth of 2 feet 9 inches below the existing later floor of the north aisle.

The probable positions of the later steps have already been indicated.


FURNESS ABBEY, LANCS.
HISTORICAL GROUND PLAN.
WESTERN GATEHOUSE
OUTER OR PRECINCT GATE
INNER OR GREAT GATEHOUSE
[FURNESS ABBEY HOTEL BUILDINGS HERE]
REMAINS OF GUEST HOUSE
CEMETERY GATE
PORCH
NORTH TRANSEPT
CHAPEL
TOWER
NAVE
QUIRE
PRESBYTERY
SACRISTY
SOUTH TRANSEPT
CLOISTER
CHAPTER HOUSE
PARLOUR
PASSAGE
GALLERY DESTROYED
OFFICES
SITE OF FIRST FRATER
LAYER
KITCHEN
SITE OF REREDORTER
SITE OF INFIRMARY
LAYER
MEAT KITCHEN
BRIDGE TO REREDORTER OVEN
MODERN BRIDGE
ABBOT'S LODGING
KITCHEN
OVEN
ABBOT'S HALL OVER
OLD INFIRMARY HALL
BROMPTON OVEN
WAY TO KITCHEN
GALLERY ON TOP
SERVICE
BUTTERY
SUMMER KITCHEN
INFIRMARY HALL
CHAPEL
MONKS INFIRMARY
First Accession
Second Accession
Late 14th century
Early 15th century
Late 15th century
Post suppression & Modern
NOTE The various positions shown thus ▲ on the plan of the building at which new Pulpits or Desks have been erected at the Suppression

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